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ABSTRACT

The third of the tenth grade sequence of the FICSS series (Focus on Inner City Social Studies -- see SO 008 271) examines the political and economic theories and realities of Communism as practiced in the Soviet Union. A brief introduction to Communist China is also included in the unit. The intent of the unit is to enable students to grasp many of the economic and political theories that have made Communism such a viable force in the twentieth century. In the unit, theory and practice are examined as two different elements, giving students an opportunity to determine the accuracy of both. The content of the unit includes an introduction to the unit; essential materials; knowledge, skill, and behavioral objectives; learning activities; and supplementary teacher and student resources. (Author/JR)

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COMMUNISM

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GRADE TEN, UNIT THREE

D.3

according to the
"Comprehensive Social Studies Curriculum for the Inner City"
as developed by

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(Focus on Inner City Social Studies)
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INTRODUCTION

Scope of the Tenth Grade Curriculum

Of all the bases of power, those which take the form of economic and/or political systems are the most pervasive and demanding. We who cherish freedom must recognize that when one is born into a system it is difficult to recognize the freedoms and constraints which it allows the individual. Thus it is difficult to modify that system better to serve man. The smaller the institution, the more easily it is changed such as with the current experiments with modified family units. But these are individual or small groups and thus do not demand national concurrence to the values being sought by the deviants. In the case of economics and politics, however, concensus or majority persuasion is necessary and thus very difficult to attain.

So long as our political and economic systems serve us well, there is little need to know the intricacies of their functioning. The problem is, that all political and economic systems, like all things human, tend to function and malfunction as they are affected by internal and external forces. Thus it is incumbent upon the schools to prepare citizens who are aware of the strengths and weaknesses of their political and economic system, to be sure. But that is not sufficient. They must also be knowledgeable of the strengths and weaknesses of alternative political economic systems. Only in that way can they intelligently accept the best of 'foreign' ideas and reject concepts which appear to lead toward undesireable results. Thus they must know about representative governments with a modified capitalistic economy. Also they must know about representative governments with a modified socialistic economy. Finally they must know about an oligarchial form of communism such as might be practiced in the USSR or China.

Specifically the units of this grade are:

10.1 Capitalism (8 Weeks)
10.2 Socialism (6 Weeks)
10.3 Communism (6 Weeks)
10.4 World Trade (6 Weeks)
10.5 Modifying our Political-Economic Realities (4 Weeks)

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INTRODUCTION TO UNIT 10.3

This unit on Communism examines the political and economic theories and realities of Communism as practiced in the Soviet Union. Many of the ideological theories and myths are examined and an attempt is made to determine and/or verify their accuracy. A brief introduction to Communist China is also included.

It is the hope that this unit will enable the student to grasp many of the economic and political theories that have made Communism such a viable force in the twentieth century; yet at the same time, to build an increasing awareness that theory and reality are two very different things.

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MINIMUM ESSENTIAL MATERIALS
(FICSS KIT)

Resource	Teacher	Pupil	Cost
1. Connor, James E. Lenin: On Politics and Revolution. New York: Pegasus, 1968. (paperback $2.95 each)	1	2	$ 8.85
2. Daniels, Robert V. The Stalin Revolution. Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1965. (paperback $1.95 each)		3	5.85
3. Goldman, Marshall I. The Soviet Economy. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968. (paperback $1.95 each)		3	5.85
4. Marx, Karl and Engels, Frederick. The Communist Manifesto. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1955. (paperback 60¢ each)	1	2	1.80
5. Miller, William J. The Meaning of Communism. Morristown, New Jersey: Silver Burdett Company, 1968. (paperback $2.00 each)		6	12.00
6. Oliver, Donald. Communist China. Middletown, Connecticut: Adapted from the Harvard Social Studies Project by American Education Publications, 1968. (paperback 40¢ each)	1	5	2.00
7. Oliver, Donald. 20th Century Russia. Middletown, Connecticut: Adapted from the Harvard Social Studies Project by American Education Publications, 1968. (paperback 40¢ each)	1	5	2.00
8. Salisbury, Harrison E. The Soviet Union. New York: Encyclopedia Britannica Press, 1965. (paperback $1.00)	1	5	6.00
9. Schapiro, Leonard. The Government and Politics of the Soviet Union. New York: Vintage Books (Random House), 1967 (paperback $1.65 each)	1	2	4.95

	Resource	Teacher	Pupil	Cost
10.	Schwartz, Harry. Communist China. New York: Encyclopedia Britannica Press, 1965. (paperback $1.00 each)	1	5	$ 6.00
11.	Wallace, Robert. Rise of Russia. New York: Time Incorporated, Silver Burdett, 1967. (paperback)	1		
12.	Ward, Barbara. Five Ideas That Changed the World. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1959. (paperback $1.50 each)	1		1.50
13.	Soviet Life. Periodical published monthly by the Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republica in the U.S.A., Washington, D. C. (paperback 35¢ each)	1	9	3.50
14.	"The Rise of Communism". Soundstrip produced by Guidance Associates of Pleasantville, New York. (price $35.00)			35.00
15.	China and U.S. Far East Policy 1945-1967. Second Edition, 1967, Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1735 K. Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. (paperback, $5.95)	1		5.95
			TOTAL	$100.00

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OBJECTIVES

KNOWLEDGE

The pupil will know:

1. A practical working definition of the following terms:
   a. Bourgeoisie
   b. Proletariat
   c. Thesis
   d. Antithesis
   e. Synthesis
   f. Communism
   g. Class Struggle
   h. Dictatorship of the Proletariat
2. That Karl Marx was the author of Das Capital and The Communist Manifesto.
3. That Karl Marx was greatly influenced by the philosophy of Hegel.
4. The Marxian theory of dialectical materialism (see content).
5. Marx's surplus value theory (see content).
6. Marx predicted that a proletarian revolution would take place in an industrially advanced capitalistic country.
7. That Marx wrote very little about the peasant's role in a Communist Revolution.
8. Marx did not leave a detailed outline of the "New Society".
9. That Marx predicted that new machinery would create unemployment and that world revolution was inevitable.
10. That Marx saw capitalist government as merely a police force to protect property.

KNOWLEDGE
(continued)

11. That Marx predicted that the dictatorship of the proletariat and the State would eventually wither away.

12. The Communist Golden Rule: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs".

13. The followers of Marx were divided into a determinist and activist wing.

14. The Communist activist worked feverishly to expose the flaws of the capitalist system.

15. That Lenin was an activist and dedicated his life to the cause of revolution.

16. That Lenin proposed the formation of a small disciplined secret and centralized party.

17. That Lenin made but denied making many ideological innovations in Communist doctrine.

18. That Lenin's greatest innovation in Communism was to join the peasants to the proletarian revolution.

19. The Soviet Union's major success has been in space technology.

20. The Russian economy prior to World War I was not as backward as the economies of Asia and Africa are today.

21. That there was tremendous industrial activity in Russia in the last two decades of the 19th Century.

22. The Communist Revolution did not overthrow the Czar but rather that of Kerensky, a socialist.

23. The greatest failure of the Soviet economy has been in agriculture.

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KNOWLEDGE
(continued)

24. The standard of living in Russia has always been low compared to European countries.

25. That the standard of living in the Soviet Union today is still low compared to Europe and the United States.

26. That consumer goods are still scarce in the Soviet Union.

27. There is a housing shortage in the Soviet Union and that most Soviets live in apartments.

28. The political liberties granted under the Soviet Constitution of 1936 are more myth than reality.

29. That members of minority groups are discriminated against by being fired from their jobs, sent to forced labor camps, imprisoned, or sent to an asylum.

30. There is much evidence to substantiate the charges that anti-Semitism is growing in the Soviet Union and is encouraged by the government.

31. Jewish citizens are denied the right to celebrate traditional religious holidays in Russia.

32. That Jewish people are consistently denied the right to emigrate except for the old and infirm.

33. The relationship between the Communist Party and the Soviet Government.

34. That the official policy of the Communist Party looks upon religion as the 'opiate of people' (Marxian term).

35. The Constitution of 1936 specifically encourages anti-religious activities.

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KNOWLEDGE
(continued)

36. Learn that in spite of government opposition, religious and family customs continue to prevail.

37. That people have a cultural heritage that is not easily changed by Soviet governmental policies.

38. Soviet Communism is chiefly an urban movement.

39. Chinese Communism is chiefly a rural movement.

40. Know that an ideological and political conflict exists between the Russians and the Chinese.

41. Know that the chief failure of the Chinese Communist economy has been in agriculture and that China has had recent periods of famine.

42. Communist China seems more interested in the activist Marxism of Lenin and Trotsky.

43. The Chinese Communists feel that Russia has betrayed Marxism.

44. The Chinese Communist announce to the world that Russia is in the hands of a "Hitler-type" regime.

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Skills

The pupil will be able to:

1. Make objective evaluations of controversial subjects.

2. Work effectively with fellow students as part of an instructional team.

3. Locate and retrieve relevant materials.

4. Organize materials for effective presentation.

5. Develop and produce audio-visual materials to supplement oral reports.

6. Present written reports in concise and clear language.

7. Gain confidence and skill in presenting oral reports.

Attitudes

The pupil will:

1. Have an increased appreciation of the terms democracy and freedom as applied within the American frame of reference as evidenced by his ability to explain that "democracy and freedom" have far different meanings within the Soviet Union and Communist China.

2. Develop an honest tolerance and understanding of people with diverse customs and cultures as evidenced by his ability to work with "different" classmates and his willingness to listen to guests who represent other ways of life.

3. Be willing to separate people from political ideologies by denying the myth of monolithic Communist people and appreciating them and a culture while not necessarily embracing their form of government.

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STRATEGY	LEARNING ACTIVITIES	MATERIALS
1. Introductory Activities	1. Reproduce and distribute to the class the two pages which follow and contain excerpts from the original 1936 Consititution of the Soviet Union. All references to the USSR have been deleted. (as indicated by the elision symbol...) to not tell the class what they are reading. Ask them to read the excerpts and guess the source. When they finally guess or are told "USSR", they will probably question if this Constitution is practiced. Here, then, is the opportunity to have them ask other questions that they would like to find answers for concerning the political and economic systems of the Soviet Union.	
	2. To elicit several other types of questions which appear essential to the content of this unit, the teacher should place markers in books from the kit or place rubber bands around the pages, to expose photos of Marx, Engles, Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky, Kosygin, etc. These books can be displayed on one or more tables and the students allowed to browse for the purpose of generating more questions that they would like to have answered during the course of their study. Spread among the books the teacher might also have displayed cards on which are printed such things as "Hegel", dialectical materialism, etc.	
	3. Have the students list the problems of capitalism and socialism developed in earlier units and have students consider whether or not the Russian and Chinese economic-political systems face the same problems or have different problems unique to their systems.	

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STRATEGY	LEARNING ACTIVITIES	MATERIALS
I. Introductory Activities	...Constitution: I. Chapter X. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens A. Article 118--Citizens...have the right to work, that is, the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality. B. Article 119--Citizens...have the right to rest and leisure. The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the establishment of an eight-hour day for industrial, office, and professional workers, the reduction of the working day to seven or six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in shops where conditions of work are particularly arduous; by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for industrial, office and professional workers, and by the provisions of a wide network of sanatoria, holiday homes and clubs for the accomodation of the working people. C. Article 120--Citizens...have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability. D. Article 121--Citizens...have the right to education. This right is ensured by universal compulsory seven-year education; by extensive development of ten-year education, by free education in all schools, higher as well as secondary, by a system of state grants for students of higher schools who excel in their studies. E. Article 122--Women...are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political, and other public activity. The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured by women being accorded an equal right with men to work , payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education, and by state protection of the interest of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay and the provisions of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries, and kindergartens.	

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I. Introductory Activity

F. Article 123--Equality of rights of citizens...irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political and other public activity, is an indefeasible law. Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or conversely, the establishment of any direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, are punishable by law.

G. Article 124--In order to ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church... is separated from the state, and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens.

H. Article 125--In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the ... system, the citizens...are guaranteed by law:

a) Freedom of speech.
b) Freedom of the press.
c) Freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meeting.
d) Freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

These civil rights are ensured by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities, and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights.

I. Article 127--Citizens...are guaranteed inviolability of the person. No person may be placed under arrest except by decision of a court or with the sanction of a procurator.

J. Article 128--The inviolability of the homes of citizens and privacy of correspondence are protected by law.

K. Article 132--Universal military service is law.

L. Article 133--To defend the country is the sacred duty of every citizen...Treason to the Motherland--violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the state, espionage--is punishable with all the severity of the law as the most heinous of crimes.

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STRATEGY	LEARNING ACTIVITIES	MATERIAL
II. Raising Questions A. For students to form a basis on which to investigate the various dimensions implied in the title of the unit. B. Students should ask their own questions to facilitate the development of a student-structured unit.	If the class has been well motivated by the above or teacher-initiated introductory activities, they should easily be able to generate from 40 to 60 questions about the political and economic realities of the Soviet Union. The following are but a brief sample of the kinds of questions which they might be expected to raise: 1. How does the economic system run? Do they have supply and demand? How is the economy regulated? (Economic theory) 2. How does the economics of Communism really work in practice? Do the people really have what they need and want? 3. What is the theory of Communism according to Marx and Engles? How does their type of government differ from ours or other democracies? 4. Do they practice what they preach? Do they live up to their Constitution? 5. What is life really like in a Communist country such as China? (Or they may choose to select the U.S.S.R.) The above list of questions are only <u>suggested</u> ones that the students might ask based on whether the introductory activities have succeeded in motivating the students and arousing their interest in studying "Communism". The authors of this unit have included this list of potential questions based on the nature of the content materials that are included. However, it is quite likely that if the students are permitted to make their own list of questions-<u>as they should</u>-additional possibilities to explore will be suggested. This should be encouraged and it is left up to each individual teacher to guide student research in these areas.	

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STRATEGY	LEARNING ACTIVITIES	MATERIALS

III. Categorizing Questions

A. To determine the number of committees needed to investigate the topics.

B. To organize basic ideas that should be explored.

C. To gain experience in critical thinking.

A. Although one cannot anticipate the exact questions students will raise and the categories into which they will place them, it is possible that the following categories will appear. These are not the only categories which can be used for organizing the study. Rather, they are those which the author feels are plausible and would serve as one way to organize the presentation of the content in this unit. Hopefully, the teacher will use those categories suggested by the students.

The content materials of this unit are organized to conform with the categories listed below and committees could be formed to research these categories or those developed by the class.

TOPICS	COMMITTEES	CONTENT	COLOR CODE
Economic Theories of Communism	Committee A		Pink
Economic Realities of Communism	Committee B		Blue
Political Theories of Communism	Committee C		Yellow
Political Realities of Communism	Committee D		Green
Introduction to Communist China	Committee E		Yellow

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STRATEGY	LEARNING ACTIVITIES	CONTENT	MATERIAL
IV. Formation of and Instructions to Committees 1. To identify the necessary tasks of the committees.	The students may wish to work in groups to pursue those topics which most interest them. The content might also be revealed through a more traditional approach but the TICSS unit writers believe it of great importance that pupils learn the skills and the problems associated with cooperative efforts. Thus they do recommend the committee as the agent for seeking factual information. The committee organization also allows for individual excellence especially as it is perceived as effecting group goals. Activities Discuss and decide on something like this: Class discussion concerning: 1. The tasks of a committee. 2. The roles of committee persons. 3. How to find information.	A. Tasks of Committees 1. Organize committee a. Random choosing by teacher or student b. Students rank choices on slips of paper. c. Student's choice on basis of their interest in subject matter to be explored. d. Using sociograms to achieve balance within a committee (may be homogeneous or heterogeneous) e. Number selection - students in the classroom count off, 1,2,3, etc., all 1's on committee, all 2's second committee, etc. 2. Utilize class questions as starting point for planning committee work. 3. Add new questions suggested by committee members. 4. Assign research, find information, coordinate information, develop and present.	

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STRATEGY	LEARNING ACTIVITIES	CONTENT	MATERIAL
IV. Formation of and Instructions to Committees		B. Roles in a Committee 1. Leader a. Help make everyone become a part of the group. b. Let everyone have his turn at the "good" group jobs. c. Get ideas from all members of the group. d. Let the group decide which ideas are best. e. Keep the group moving to get its job finished in the best way it can. f. Keep from being "bossy". g. Help your group decide what its job is. 2. Group Members a. Help the leader carry out plans. b. Do your share of the work. c. Work without disturbing other group members. d. Ask other members for their ideas. e. Select only those ideas which help the group do its best work. f. Cheerfully take the jobs the group wants you to do. g. Make other members of the group feel welcome.	

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STRATEGY	LEARNING ACTIVITIES	CONTENT	MATERIAL
IV. Formation of and Instructions to Committees.		3. Secretary a. Record group decision b. Verify motions and decisions c. Aid committee in coordinating research	
2. To determine desired roles in committee operation.		C. Finding Information (See Section 1) 1. Textbooks and books a. Use of index b. Use of glossary, appendix, map lists, illustrations 2. Encyclopedias a. Use of key words; letters on volume, index, class reference 3. World Almanac 4. Pamphlets 5. Pictures 6. Filmstrips 7. Charts, cartoons, posters, graphs 8. Records 9. Community	
3. To identify sources for obtaining necessary information.		Discussion possibilities for presentation: 1. Reports 2. Panel and round table discussions 3. Show visual aids 4. Make and show graphs and charts	

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STRATEGY	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
V. Information Retrieval Committee A Economic Theories of Communism	SUGGESTED INFORMATION RETRIEVAL ACTIVITIES

1. Interview parents, relatives, and friends and ask them to tell you about the economic theories of Communism. Record, tally, and analyze their answers. See to what extent their statements are true.

2. Expand #1 above to develop a test of Communist economics which can be given to classmates or others in the school, relatives, etc. Tally the results. Give the test after your committee reports to determine how effective your reporting was.

3. Using a tape recorder, record the answers of 'the man in the street' in an interview situation. Ask such questions as "Are the Communists doing anything worthwhile?", "Are all the Communist ideas wrong?".

4. After obtaining permission from the school authorities, purchase copies of Communist papers such as the Daily Worker. Read the U.S.S.R. magazine Soviet Life. Find articles which tell about the economic and political theories and realities of Communism.

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STRATEGY		CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee A Economic Theories of Communism (Cont.)	I.	The Communist Manifesto	
	A.	Opening line - "A Specter is haunting Europe - The Specter of Communism. All the Powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exercise this specter: Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French radicals and German police spies."	Marx and Engels The Communist Manifesto p. 8
	B.	Marx offers this comment to prove that Communism is a growing force in the world:	
Is this line ever applied to the opposition in American political discussions?		"Where is the party in opposition that has not been decreed as Communistic by its opponents in power".	The Communist Manifesto p. 8
	C.	Marx offers some evidence for the Marxian concept of history (Dialectical Materialism)	The Communist Manifesto p. 9-20
		1. Bourgeoisie (Capitalist)	
		2. Proletariat (Workers)	
		3. Concept of the Class Struggle	
		4. All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities.	
		5. The Proletarian movement is the self-conscious independent movement of the immense majority.	The Communist Manifesto p. 21
	D.	Aims of the Communist	
		1. The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of bourgeoisie supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat.	The Communist Manifesto p. 23
	E.	The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeoisie owned property.	The Communist Manifesto p. 24
Is this true of the American labor force? The auto workers? The carpenters? The steelworkers?	F.	Price of labor	
		1. The average price of wage-labor is the minimum wage, i.e., that quantum of the means of subsistence which is absolutely requisite to keep the laborer in bare existence as a laborer.	Ibid. p. 25

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee A Economic Theories of Communism (Cont.) Does the history of the Czars have any relationship to modern Russia? Does the ruling class have an influence on contemporary Soviet Education? Is Soviet Communism Nationalistic? Is there a nationalist conflict between Russia and China?	G. In bourgeois society, therefore, the past dominates the present; in Communist society, the present dominates the past. H. Education: The Communists have not invented the intervention of society in education; they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class. I. The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality. 1. The workingmen have no country. J. Capitalism and religion 1. The ideas of religious liberty and freedom of conscience, merely gave expression to the sway of free competition within the domain of knowledge. K. We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to establish democracy. L. What measures does Marx predict the proletariat will take after the revolution? These measures will, of course, be different in different countries. Nevertheless in the most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable. 1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes. 2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax. 3. Abolition of all right of inheritance. 4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels. 5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.	Marx and Engels The Communist Manifesto p. 25 Ibid. p. 28 Ibid. p. 29 Ibid. p. 30 Ibid. p. 31 Ibid. p. 31-32

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee A Economic Theories of Communism (Cont.) What is the difference between Marx's statement and Weber's concept of the "Protestant Ethic"? Have the Communists established democracy in the Soviet Union? In China? Have the Soviet Communists abolished oppression? Are there no classes in the modern Soviet Society?	6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state. 7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation waste lands, and the improvement of soil generally in accordance with a common plan. 8. Equal obligation of all to work. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture. 9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of population over the country. 10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of child factory labor in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc. M. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. N. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisies is compelled by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class; if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class. O. In place of the old bourgeois society, and with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.	Marx and Engels <u>The Communist Manifesto</u> p. 33

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee A Economic Theories of Communism (Cont.) What about the Military? The Party leaders? The production managers? Did Marx understand the "march of modern history"? How many of Marx's contemporaries attended a university? Does the Dialectic have any relationship to the generation gap?	II. Marxist Theory A. Hegel and the "Dialectic" 1. German philosopher: George W. F. Hegel a. Karl Marx teacher at the University of Berlin 2. Dialectic: Key to Hegel's thought a. Dialectic: a technical philosophical term meaning "argument" or "debate". b. Hegel's dialectic was spiritual in nature. c. Hegel's dialectic saw conflict, or contradiction as the moving force of all history, thought, and existence. d. To Hegel, everything is constantly changing--something old dying, something new developing. e. One set of ideas (thesis) is violently opposed by another set (antithesis), which has developed out of the first(thesis). f. From this clash arises a new combination (synthesis) containing the best elements of both the thesis and antithesis. g. This synthesis becomes, as it develops, another thesis, again generating its own antithesis. h. Through the clash and struggle of thesis and antithesis, the world moves closer and closer to perfection. i. Hegel thought in terms of the spirit. To him, all of man's history could be understood as man's conflict with his own nature - as man comes to realize that the spirit itself was reality.	Miller The Meaning of Communism p. 20-21
Do you find that most people are greatly influenced by monetary values?	B. Marx and dialectical materialism 1. Marx thought that Hegel had things upside down. a. Marx: It was the world around man - his material surroundings and the way he adapts to them - that determines everything about man's life.	Miller The Meaning of Communism p. 20-21

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee A Economic Theories of Communism (Cont.) Economic system determines: 1. Production a. Jobs 2. Distribution a. standard of living b. class rank - status 3. Political Power 4. Social Status 5. Religion	b. Economics is the key to understanding the history of political, social and other human relationships. C. Marx: The class struggle 1. "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles". 2. In every era of the past, a working class had struggled against an owning class: a. Slave against master b. Feudal serf against lord c. Factory worker (proletariat) against the factory owner (bourgeoisie) 3. Marx claimed capitalism like feudalism and other earlier systems would inevitably destroy itself because it contains the seeds of its own destruction. 4. Out of the destruction of capitalism would come Communism. D. Marxist view of history 1. Slavery a. Master vs. slave 2. Feudalism a. Lord vs. serf 3. Capitalism a. Bourgeoisie vs. proletariat 4. Communism (the everlasting thesis) a. End of class struggle E. Marx and the labor theory of value 1. Labor theory developed by Ricardo and classical economists. 2. Statement of labor theory of value: The value of any product is equal to the value of labor to make that product. Example: A book -- a. trees (free gift from nature) b. cutting down trees - labor cost c. turning wood into pulp - labor cost d. machinery used - labor cost to make machinery	Marx and Engels The Communist Manifesto p. 9 Marx and Engels The Communist Manifesto p. 16 Miller The Meaning of Communism p. 20-21
Can you think of any other items besides labor costs?		

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STRATEGY	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
V. Information Retrieval Committee A Economic Theories of Communism	SUGGESTED INFORMATION RETRIEVAL ACTIVITIES 1. Interview parents, relatives, and friends and ask them to tell you about the economic theories of Communism. Record, tally, and analyze their answers. See to what extent their statements are true. 2. Expand #1 above to develop a test of Communist economics which can be given to classmates or others in the school, relatives, etc. Tally the results. Give the test after your committee reports to determine how effective your reporting was. 3. Using a tape recorder, record the answers of 'the man in the street' in an interview situation. Ask such questions as "Are the Communists doing anything worthwhile?", "Are all the Communist ideas wrong?". 4. After obtaining permission from the school authorities, purchase copies of Communist papers such as the Daily Worker. Read the U.S.S.R. magazine Soviet Life. Find articles which tell about the economic and political theories and realities of Communism.

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee A Economic Theories of Communism (Cont.) Is this line ever applied to the opposition in American political discussions?	I. The Communist Manifesto A. Opening line - "A Specter is haunting Europe - The Specter of Communism. All the Powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exercise this specter: Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French radicals and German police spies."	Marx and Engels The Communist Manifesto p. 8
	B. Marx offers this comment to prove that Communism is a growing force in the world: "Where is the party in opposition that has not been decreed as Communistic by its opponents in power".	The Communist Manifesto p. 8
	C. Marx offers some evidence for the Marxian concept of history (Dialectical Materialism) 1. Bourgeoisie (Capitalist) 2. Proletariat (Workers) 3. Concept of the Class Struggle 4. All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities.	The Communist Manifesto p. 9-20
	5. The Proletarian movement is the self-conscious independent movement of the immense majority.	The Communist Manifesto p. 21
	D. Aims of the Communist 1. The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of bourgeoisie supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat.	The Communist Manifesto p. 23
	E. The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeoisie owned property.	The Communist Manifesto p. 24
Is this true of the American labor force? The auto workers? The carpenters? The steelworkers?	F. Price of labor 1. The average price of wage-labor is the minimum wage, i.e., that quantum of the means of subsistence which is absolutely requisite to keep the laborer in bare existence as a laborer.	Ibid. p. 25

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. [illegible]ion Retrieval	G. In bourgeois society, therefore, [illegible] dominates the present; in Communist society, the present dominates the past.	Marx and Engels The Communist Manifesto p. 25
Committee A	H. Education: The Communists have not invented the intervention of society in education; they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class.	Ibid. p. 28
Economic Theories of Communism (Cont.)	I. The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality. 1. The workingmen have no country.	Ibid. p. 29
Does the history of the Czars have any relationship to modern Russia?	J. Capitalism and religion 1. The ideas of religious liberty and freedom of conscience, merely gave expression to the sway of free competition within the domain of knowledge.	Ibid. p. 30
Does the ruling class have an influence on contemporary Soviet Education?	K. We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to establish democracy.	Ibid. p. 31
Is Soviet Communism Nationalistic?	L. What measures does Marx predict the proletariat will take after the revolution? These measures will, of course, be different in different countries. Nevertheless in the most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable. 1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes. 2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax. 3. Abolition of all right of inheritance. 4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels. 5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.	Ibid. p. 31-32
Is there a nationalist conflict between Russia and China?		

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee A Economic Theories of Communism (Cont.) What is the difference between Marx's statement and Weber's concept of the "Protestant Ethic"? Have the Communists established democracy in the Soviet Union? In China? Have the Soviet Communists abolished oppression? Are there no classes in the modern Soviet Society?	6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state. 7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation waste lands, and the improvement of soil generally in accordance with a common plan. 8. Equal obligation of all to work. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture. 9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of population over the country. 10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of child factory labor in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc. M. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. N. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisies is compelled by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class; if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class. O. In place of the old bourgeois society, and with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.	Marx and Engels <u>The Communist Manifesto</u> p. 33

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee A Economic Theories of Communism (Cont.) What about the Military? The Party leaders? The production managers? Did Marx understand the "march of modern history"? How many of Marx's contemporaries attended a university? Does the Dialectic have any relationship to the generation gap?	II. Marxist Theory A. Hegel and the "Dialectic" 1. German philosopher: George W. F. Hegel a. Karl Marx teacher at the University of Berlin 2. Dialectic: Key to Hegel's thought a. Dialectic: a technical philosophical term meaning "argument" or "debate". b. Hegel's dialectic was spiritual in nature. c. Hegel's dialectic saw conflict, or contradiction as the moving force of all history, thought, and existence. d. To Hegel, everything is constantly changing--something old dying, something new developing. e. One set of ideas (thesis) is violently opposed by another set (antithesis), which has developed out of the first(thesis). f. From this clash arises a new combination (synthesis) containing the best elements of both the thesis and antithesis. g. This synthesis becomes, as it develops, another thesis, again generating its own antithesis. h. Through the clash and struggle of thesis and antithesis, the world moves closer and closer to perfection. i. Hegel thought in terms of the spirit. To him, all of man's history could be understood as man's conflict with his own nature - as man comes to realize that the spirit itself was reality.	Miller The Meaning of Communism p. 20-21
Do you find that most people are greatly influenced by monetary values?	B. Marx and dialectical materialism 1. Marx thought that Hegel had things upside down. a. Marx: It was the world around man - his material surroundings and the way he adapts to them - that determines everything about man's life.	Miller The Meaning of Communism p. 20-21

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
.. Information Retrieval Committee A Economic Theories of Communism (Cont.) Economic system determines: 1. Production a. Jobs 2. Distribution a. standard of living b. class rank - status 3. Political Power 4. Social Status 5. Religion	b. Economics is the key to understanding the history of political, social and other human relationships. C. Marx: The class struggle 1. "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles". 2. In every era of the past, a working class had struggled against an owning class: a. Slave against master b. Feudal serf against lord c. Factory worker (proletariat) against the factory owner (bourgeoisie) 3. Marx claimed capitalism like feudalism and other earlier systems would inevitably destroy itself because it contains the seeds of its own destruction. 4. Out of the destruction of capitalism would come Communism. D. Marxist view of history 1. Slavery a. Master vs. slave 2. Feudalism a. Lord vs. serf 3. Capitalism a. Bourgeoisie vs. proletariat 4. Communism (the everlasting thesis) a. End of class struggle E. Marx and the labor theory of value 1. Labor theory developed by Ricardo and classical economists. 2. Statement of labor theory of value: The value of any product is equal to the value of labor to make that product. Example: A book -- a. trees (free gift from nature) b. cutting down trees - labor cost c. turning wood into pulp - labor cost d. machinery used - labor cost to make machinery	Marx and Engels The Communist Manifesto p. 9 Marx and Engels The Communist Manifesto p. 16 Miller The Meaning of Communism p. 20-21
Can you think of any other items besides labor costs?		

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee A Economic Theories of Communism (Cont.) What about the risks of capital investments? What is the role of "profit" in the capitalist economic system? Should profits be outlawed? Regulated? Would start a business or service if you could not make a profit? What determines the wage rates in the American economy? What determines the rate of pay for an autoworker?	e. writing the book - author's labor cost f. printing the book - labor cost g. shipping the book - labor cost h. distributing the book - labor cost 3. Total labor costs divided by the number of books should equal the price per book, but the price is always higher - profit to the capitalist (Surplus Value) F. Theory of surplus value 1. The price of any product is always higher than the amount paid to the laborers to produce it. 2. Price minus labor costs equal surplus value. 3. The Capitalist (bourgeoise) makes a profit by paying the worker (proletariat) less than he deserves. 4. In effect the capitalist "stole" the profit from the laborer. 5. Marx concedes that the Capitalist is not consciously a thief; rather "stealing" is an essential element of capitalism. 6. Under the Capitalist system labor is simply another commodity. G. Marxist predictions: Depressions and Deepening Crises. 1. Bourgeoisie are competing with each other. 2. To continue to compete requires expansion. 3. Expansion requires more workers. 4. High demand for workers drives up wages and drives down profits. 5. High wages lead bourgeoisie to introduce labor saving machinery. 6. New machinery creates unemployment. 7. Unemployment drives down wages. 8. The workers displaced by machines cannot afford to buy goods, so consumption falls. 9. Capitalists scramble to dump goods on the market, and the smaller, weaker capitalists go bankrupt. 10. The bigger, stronger factory groups then absorb the smaller ones, but the bigger they get, the bigger they smash when they fall.	Miller The Meaning of Communism p. 22 Marx and Engles The Communist Manifesto p. 16-22

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee A Economic Theories of Communism (Cont.) Is Marx right about the relationship between high wages and the introduction of new machinery? Is unemployment the chief cause of depression? Are there other factors? What caused the U.S. depression in 1930? 1970? Do you find any evidence that Capitalist countries have entered an era of self-destruction? What is the relationship of the "hard-hat" campaign in support of President Nixon to the Marxist theory of worker revolt? Have American labor movements been radical or conservative?	11. During these repeated crises, the workers (proletariat), form protective associations, (unions) to try to make themselves stronger in relation to the owners. 12. Capitalism would eventually destroy itself by bringing together enormous combinations of money, modern machinery, and workers organized into units so vast as to be virtual armies. 13. During the final crisis the army of workers take ownership from the few owners. 14. Marx felt that revolution was inevitable for the capitalist system itself made it so.	Miller The Meaning of Communism p. 2-23

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STRATEGY

V. Information Retrieval

Committee B

Economic Realities of Communism

LEARNING ACTIVITIES

SUGGESTED INFORMATION RETRIEVAL ACTIVITIES

1. Interview parents, relatives, and friends and ask them to tell you about the economic realities of Communism. Record, tally, and analyze their answers. Try to substantiate or deny their statements.

2. Listen to shortwave from the U.S.S.R. to determine if what they say is the reality of life within the Soviet Union.

3. Collect news articles about economic life in the U.S.S.R. and China.

4. Visit the library to read Communist foreign newspapers printed for consumption by English-reading audiences. Determine the 'economic realities' of the Communist countries.

5. Determine the areas that Russia leads the U.S. and other western nations in resources and the production of industrial goods.

6. Contact the embassies of U.S.S.R. and her eastern European satellites for current economic data on production, world trade, etc. The student might want to compare communist figures with U.S. and U.N. estimates of the same data.

7. Obtain photographs of U.S.S.R. consumer goods and compare with those available in the U.S. (clothing, autos, etc.). To make the comparison fairer, since the U.S.S.R. does not cater to consumer needs, obtain photos of elements of the public sector such as roads, train and bus stations, art museums, etc. and compare these to the U.S.

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee B Economic Realities of Communism	I. Agriculture --employs one-third of Soviet work force --lacks efficiency and use of modern technology --most deficient area of Soviet economy A. Objectives of Soviet agriculture 1. Increase size of productive units to realize increased efficiency. 2. Mechanize agriculture production. 3. Collectivize labor to increase efficiency. 4. Adapt modern science to agricultural production. B. State Farms (over 11,000) 1. Employ over 8,000,000 people. 2. Average about 18,000 sown acres per farm. 3. Are run like "agricultural factories". 4. Are owned by the Soviet government including the land, machinery, equipment, and livestock. 5. Employ labor at a set wage on an incentive basis. 6. Employees have roughly the same benefits as factory employees. a. Paid vacations. b. Old-age pensions. c. Sick benefits. 7. Employees may build their own homes on the farm and may cultivate 1/3 of an acre for their own purposes. C. Collective Farms 1. Over 36,000 collective farms. 2. Over 15,000,000 people work on collective farms. 3. Average over 7,000 acres of sown land. 4. Collective farms are cooperatives. a. Government has title to land. b. Collective owns machinery and equipment. c. Collectives sell their own products. d. Collectives are self managing within limits of overall governmental controls and influences.	Comparative Economic Systems William N. Loucks, William G. Whitney. Harper & Row, 5th Edition, 1969.

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V. Information Retrieval

Committee B

Economic Realities of Communism

5. Private plots of 1/2 to 2-1/2 acres for each member family. (1964, private plots amounted to only 3% of the cultivated land but was responsible for almost 1/3 of the gross farm output and 1/2 of the livestock production).
6. Since 1966, collective farm workers have received a guaranteed wage rate which places them on par with State farm workers.
7. Soviet agriculture has been subject to many reforms since 1958. All are designed to increase productivity and efficiency.

II. Soviet Industry
- A. Approximately 99% of natural and man-made implements of production are owned either by the state or by cooperatives.
- B. Organizationally, Soviet industry has passed through three phases.
  1. Highly centralized control from 1917 to 1957.
  2. Decentralization under Khrushchev 1957 - 1965.
  3. Re-centralization under Kosygin 1965 - .
- C. 1965 organizational reform
  1. Problems
     a. New investment in Russian industry was yielding diminishing returns.
     b. Rate of growth of productivity was falling.
     c. Factories failed to produce what consumers would buy.
     d. Industries failed.
  2. Reforms
     a. Centralized planned management was strengthened by restoring national ministries (47) heading industries and enhancing the State Planning Board.
     b. Strengthening the independent management of each industry.
     c. Causing the attainment of profits or surpluses over cost to be a major stimulus to efficiency (Libermanism)
- D. Producers' Cooperatives
  1. Primarily local industries.
  2. Important in fields of knit goods, textiles, shoes, hardware, furniture, toys, musical instruments.

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STRATEGY		CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval		3. Account for approximately 8% of the gross industrial output. 4. Workers receive wages from the cooperatives.	
Committee B Economic Realities of Communism	III.	Labor --Soviets have a shortage of skilled labor as a result of rapidly expanding industries. --Approximately 46% of total industrial labor force are women. A. Labor laws. 1. Constitutionally determined by Soviet Government. 2. Newest law passed in 1960 - called the 'Fundamental Principles of the Labor Code'. a. Sets maximum hours of labor per day and week. b. Modifications for certain occupational, age, and sex groups. c. Specify health and safety regulations. d. Governs hours and vacations of youths who combine work with their schooling. e. Specify functions of trade unions. f. Rules concerning transfer of employees, dismissal, over time rates, length of lunch break and minimum wage rates, etc. B. Trade Unions. 1. Almost all industrial workers are union members. 2. Union membership is not compulsory but certain benefits such as social insurance benefits, housing preferences, and vacation and rest home privileges make membership attractive. 3. Dues average 1% of annual wages. 4. Local and national leadership of unions comes from the Communist Party.	
	IV.	Differences between Soviet and American Unions. --Struggles such as collective bargaining and strikes are unknown in Russia. --In theory, the state is the employer and the workers are the state. To strike for higher wages or shorter hours would be like striking against themselves.	

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee B Economic Realities of Communism	A. Functions of Trade Unions 1. Provide a variety of cultural, educational, and recreational activities for their membership. a. Local unions establish nurseries and nursery schools, workers' education classes, concerts, etc. b. National unions build rest homes and develop vacation facilities. 2. Assist management in improving labor performance and with problems of absenteeism, etc. 3. Handle complaints and grievances against management. 4. To criticize and propose changes at management level. 5. Supervision of social insurance system. 6. Supplement enforcement of provisions of Labor Code. B. Collective Labor Contracts 1. Standardized basic collective labor contracts are drawn up periodically between the trade unions and managements of various enterprises. 2. Work week and vacations. a. Standard work week is now a five day week of 40 hours. b. Vacations average 18 days (paid vacations). 3. Wages a. Soviet wage system based on productivity. b. Types of wage and salary rates. 1) Timework Rates - approximately 25% of wage earners, comparable to U.S. straight hourly rates. 2) Timework Rates and Bonuses - Comparable to timework rates with bonuses up to 30% of base time rate. 3) Direct Piecework Rate - Comparable to U.S. straight piece rates. 4) Progressive Piece Rates a) Compares to U.S. incentive wage system. b) Piece rates sometimes go as high as 300% over norms. 4. Supplementary Labor Incentives	

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Committee B

Economic Realities of Communism

a. Economic Incentives include cash prizes, automobiles, bicycles, smaller consumer items, better apartments, special vacations, trips to Moscow, tickets to theaters, etc.
b. Noneconomic incentives include membership in 'Orders' such as Order of Lenin, Order of the Red Banner of Labor, Badge of Honor. Also, certain tax exemptions, reduction of house rental, free use of streetcars, generous provisions under the social-insurance system.

PROBLEM #1

A. Myth: All sectors of the Russian economy including agriculture have rapidly increased production and efficiency.

B. Reality: During the last five decades the biggest problem in the Soviet Union has been the inadequacy of agricultural production.

Salisbury
Soviet Union
p. 37-44

1. Marx, Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin were oriented toward urban problems, not those of agriculture.
2. By collectivizing the farms, Stalin broke the unorganized but real power of the peasants. That power stemmed from the peasants' ability to control food production. Stalin managed to squeeze out of them the funds needed for industrialization but he was not successful in increasing food production.
3. Collectivization offers no encouragement to farmers to produce according to their abilities, and inefficiency results.
4. The problem of low production per farmer and farm is intensified by the scarcity of good agricultural land.
5. The growth rate of Soviet agricultural production is insufficient to meet the needs of a growing population, raise the standard of living, replenish reserves, and provide a surplus for use in foreign aid programs. It has become necessary for the Soviets to import food.

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee B Economic Realities of Communism	C. The inability of the Soviet Union to make its farm system work is not only a dangerous element in the Soviet economy, but also demonstrated the single greatest failure of the Communist system. 1. Khrushchev's argument against Peking's demands for bloody uprisings was based on his idea that the appeal of Communism would be its ability to fill stomachs. But so far the Soviet Union has not been able to do that for its own people. 2. In the only Communist countries which have achieved a high level of agricultural production, farming is not carried on under the full collectivization usually demanded by the Communist system: a. In Poland, which is often cited as the Communist country that has solved its agricultural problems, 90% of the total production comes from privately owned farms. b. On the other hand Albania, which is 100% collectivized, would starve to death were it not for help from Communist China - which is also starving.	
	PROBLEM #2	
	A. Myth: Soviet economic success is directly related to central planning and the complete absence of capitalistic economic devices.	
	B. Reality: From Czarist Russia the Soviet Union inherited an excellent foundation of technology and factories built during the 1906 - 1916 decade of industrial expansion. Stalin combined these with a large labor supply and abundant natural resources to turn a backward state into an industrial power second only to the U.S. 1. In order to get the capital necessary for industrial expansion, Stalin lowered the living standards of peasants and factory workers.	Salisbury Soviet Union p. 45-57

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V. Information Retrieval

Committee B

Economic Realities of Communism

2. After abandoning the unrealistic idea that people could be made to work solely through love of labor and devotion to their country, the government adopted harsh measures to force greater production.
   a. The output of pace-setting workers (stakhavovites) was fixed as a production norm for the average worker.
   b. Workers or managers who failed to meet quotas were fired, imprisoned, or executed.
   c. Massive purges were carried out to rid industry of suspected saboteurs.
3. Later, some reliance was placed on higher wages and production bonuses as incentives for workers and managers.
4. Defects of the Soviet industrial system and capacity were the subject of ridicule by the West - which was rudely surprised when the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb in 1949, sent up its sputnik (man's first space satellite) in 1957, and managed to increase its steel production phenomenally between 1945 and 1960.

C. In an attempt to combat industrial problems, Khrushchev set up economic regions in which all agricultural and manufacturing activities were put under more local control, so that production problems could be spotted and solved more quickly.

D. Khrushchev's successors abolished his economic regions and in 1965 announced large scale conversion of consumer-goods factories to a cost-price and supply demand system called Libermanism (after Evsei J. Liberman, a professor who worked out the idea). Libermanism has many aspects of free-enterprise capitalism.

E. Because of the introduction of Libermanism and the new emphasis on personal incentives, the Chinese Communists accuse the Soviet Union of having abandoned true Communism for capitalism, but other backward nations regard the Soviet Union as a country that has achieved industrial supremacy through the application of Communist principles.

Salisbury
Soviet Union
p. 45-57

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee B Economic Realities of Communism	PROBLEM 3 A. Myth: Until the Communist Revolution, Russia was a backward country. B. Reality: Russia prior to World War I was economically inferior to England, Germany, France and the U.S., but economy was as backward as those of most of the countries in Asia and Africa today. 1. Because of the statistical uncertainties involved, it is impossible to make an unreserved statement, but Russia in 1913 may have been economically superior to Japan and perhaps Italy. 2. Prior to World War I, Russia had a "dual economy": a very modern sector existed simultaneously with a very primitive sector in both industry and agriculture. 3. Russian growth between the early 1880's and 1913 was very impressive. a. By 1913, steel production was five times larger than in 1890. b. There was a tenfold increase in the mining of coal. c. The railroad network almost tripled in size. Especially notable was the building of the trans-Siberian Railroad, one of the most impressive engineering accomplishments of the time. d. Industrial growth in Russia in the 1890's averaged about 8% e. From 1905 to 1914 the average rate of industrial growth was about 6% a year. 4. Prerevolutionary Russia did give birth to such outstanding scientists as Lomonosov, the physicist and Pavlov, the physiologist.	Goldman The Soviet Economy p. 9-13

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee B Economic Realities of Communism	5. Prerevolutionary Russia also gave birth to such literary giants as Pushkin, Gogol, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, and the musical geniuses like Moussorgsky and Tchaikovsky. The present-day U.S.S.R. has yet to produce a comparable list. 6. Russia under the Czars was underdeveloped, but there were signs of progress. Moreover, prerevolutionary Russia's position in relation to the developed countries of Europe was considerably better than the relation of such countries as India and China to the developed world of the 1950's and 1960's.	Play a tape or record of "The Dance of the Flowers" Nutcracker Suite
	PROBLEM #4	
	A. Myth: Upon coming to power, the Bolsheviks adopted a Marxist blueprint for action which they have been following ever since.	Goldman The Soviet Economy p. 19-29
	B. Reality: Marx seldom concerned himself with the operations and problems of a Communist society. He was primarily a student of capitalism. 1. Marx's main concern was the revolution and the disintegration of an economic system, not its construction and expansion. 2. The Critique of the Gotha Program provides only a rough sketch of the new society. 3. Temporary expedients have a way of becoming permanent encumbrances, especially when the Marxist revolution takes place in a country which is not among the economically advanced. 4. Even though some of the measures they took could be considered steps in the direction of ideological purity; for the most part the Bolsheviks were motivated primarily by practical considerations. Institutional forms adopted by the Russians were dictated as much by the needs of economic development as ideological conformity.	

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee B Economic Realities of Communism	5. Standard of living a. The average wage of the Soviet industrial worker has risen from about $89 per month in 1955 to about $126 a month in 1970. b. Most Russians live in 3 or 4 room apartments. Khrushchev launched a massive apartment building program. c. Production of major appliances in the U.S.S.R. is well below the level of production in the U.S.	Goldman The Soviet Economy p. 39-61 Compare Russian cars with U.S. Ford or Chevrolet--Style - performance. See production table.
	PROBLEM #5	
	A. Myth: The Soviet economic system is totalitarian and by nature it is a slave state.	
	B. Reality: Although conditions in the U.S.S.R. prior to Stalin's death were often hard to distinguish from those existing in a state of serfdom, since the mid-1950's there have been significant improvement. 1. Until 1966, most Soviet employees worked six days a week. Five seven-hour days and one six-hour day for a total of 41 hours. 2. In April 1966, Kosygin announced the adoption of a five-day week. Each worker must still work about 41 hours, but he now has two complete days free for himself. 3. Education a. School attendance is compulsory through the tenth grade. b. All education is tuition-free. c. Most undergraduate students receive a small stipend from the state.	Show Guidance Associates Soundstrip The Soviet Union Today

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Production of Major Appliances in the U.S.S.R. and the United States
(millions)

	SOVIET PRODUCTION						U.S. PRODUCTION
	1958	1960	1962	1964	1966	Plan 1970	1966
Automobiles	0.122	0.139	0.166	0.185	0.230	0.7--0.8	9.0
Radios and Phonographs	3.9	4.2	4.3	4.8	5.8	7.5--8.0	19.0
Refrigerators	0.4	0.5	0.8	1.1	2.2	5.4--5.6	6.0
Television Sets	1.0	1.7	2.2	2.9	4.4	7.5--7.7	12.3
Washing Machines	0.5	0.9	1.8	2.9	3.9		

How might the data presented in this chart be biased to encourage a false conclusion on the part of the average reader?

Source: Goldman
The Soviet Economy
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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee B Economic Realities of Communism (Cont.)	d. There simply are not enough universities in the U.S.S.R. to satisfy the need of those who would like to go. Application requirements in the U.S.S.R. are very rigorous. e. Soviet schools stress science and technology. Soviet schools graduate more engineers each year than do American schools.	
	PROBLEM #6	
	A. Myth: The Soviet Union is becoming capitalist, and in a few years there will be no difference between the Soviet and American economic systems. Quote from Red Flag (Communist Chinese newspaper) November 11, 1965. "The new leaders of the Soviet Communist Party are leading the Soviet Union down the path of capitalism in the name of realizing Communism".	Goldman The Soviet Economy p. 137-141 Write an editorial, Chinese style, criticizing the Russians.
	B. Reality: The Soviet Union is not turning capitalist in the usual sense of the word. It is unlikely that private ownership of the means of production will ever be tolerated, except perhaps in a few small service industries or trades.	

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STRATEGY

V. Information Retrieval

Committee C

Political Theories of Communism

LEARNING ACTIVITIES

SUGGESTED INFORMATION RETRIEVAL ACTIVITIES

1. Interview parents, relatives, and friends and ask them to tell you about the political theories of Communism. Record, tally, and analyze their answers. See to what extent their statements are true.

2. Expand Suggestion #1 to develop a test for knowledge of Communist government which can be given to classmates or others in the school, relatives, etc. Tally the results. Give the test again after your committee reports to determine how effective your reporting was.

3. Interview the man on the street using a tape recorder...Ask such questions as "Does Communism allow for free elections?"...private ownership of a business?" "...a campaign between candidates for office?" "...rule by the people?"

4. Read the Communist Manifesto and the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. In what ways are some of these ideas and aims like those of the U.S. and other western nations? How are they different? Compare them with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the U.S.

5. Interview or telephone a professor at a nearby university who specializes in Communistic thought. With his permission, record the telephone interview.

6. Contact the Soviet Embassy to request materials and speakers on the topic.

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee C Political Theories of Communism	I. Marxian Political Theories A. The dictatorship of the proletariat 1. Government: According to Marx, Capitalist Government is merely a "police force" to protect property. 2. Dictatorship of the proletariat: A reign of the working class majority over the capitalist minority. 3. Dictatorship of the proletariat will not be oppressive. 4. Dictatorship and the state will eventually "wither away". B. Marxian Golden Rule: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."	Miller The Meaning of Communism p. 24
	II. Marxian Revisionism A. Eduard Bernstein - Revisionism 1. Evolutionary socialism a. Documented the failure of Marxian predictions. 1) Industrial workers were living far better than their fathers. 2) Bourgeoisie not contracting but expanding. 3) 1890's profit rates did not fall as economy matured. 4) Marxian trinity of impoverishment, polarization, and revolution could no longer be regarded as historically inevitable. 2. Evolutionary socialism's ethical aims: a. Justice, equality, and dignity for all men. b. Helping to transform an amorphous mass of oppressed workers into a unified and conscious class which was now capable of exacting economic and political pressure to better its own conditions. c. In order to continue advancing, Socialists had to dismiss visions of a cataclysmic revolution. d. Socialists had to get on with the substantial task of creating and expanding the foundations of a democratic society, one which would benefit not only the proletariat but all social classes.	Lenin: On Politics and Revolution. p. XII-XVII.

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee C Political Theories of Communism (Cont.)	B. Nikolai Bukharin 1. Brilliant young Bolshevik Theorist. 2. Identified two tendencies in the political economy of Europe late nineteenth century and early twentieth century: a. Trend toward imperialism. b. Growth of industrial and financial monopolies in the most advanced nations.	Connor Lenin p. XXIV
	C. Lenin Author's Note: In the 1st decade of the nineteenth century Russia had begun to undergo intensive industrial development. Economic conditions, therefore, roughly approximated those which existed in Europe when Marx first set down his analysis of capitalism. The costs imposed on the workers in terms of miserable living and working conditions were high and the returns they received in wages and material goods were low. Just as Marx had predicted, the Russian proletariat was growing rapidly and a few individuals were swiftly accumulating vast fortunes. With the exception of some local bodies, no trace of democracy had yet existed in rigidly autocratic Russia. Politics was the prerogative of the Czar, his favorites and his bureaucrats. There was little opportunity for political expression let alone organized legislative or group activity.	Lenin P. XVII
	Before 1900, Lenin had spent all but a few months of his life in Russia and thus had not seen direct evidence of either increasing prosperity or the potential for effective political action within the confines of the Capitalist system. Unlike European Marxists, therefore, he did not initially perceive Evolutionary Socialism as a work with some disturbing pretensions to factual accuracy, which nevertheless had to be rejected in order to preserve the integrity of the Marxist belief structure. Since Lenin considered revolution to be the essential component of Marxist thought he could make no compromise with the Bernsteinian position nor could he tolerate anyone who espoused that position. For Lenin, to be a Marxist meant to be a Revolutionary.	

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee C Political Theories of Communism (Cont.)	I. Lenin: What Is To Be Done? A. Lengthy pamphlet 1. Ignored problems raised by the failure of Marxian predictions. 2. Aim: Lenin wished to establish once and for all the primacy of the activist view. 3. Socialists and labor movements had grown independently of each other. a. Socialist thought had been developed by intellectuals such as Marx and Engels whose social origins were indisputably bourgeoisie. b. Socialists thought had not emerged from the struggle of workers against capitalist oppression. c. Those who claimed that the proletariat would spontaneously come to appreciate their historically ordained role as a revolutionary class simply deluded themselves. d. History had shown that left to their own devises, the proletariat could at best achieve "trade union consciousness". e. Successful education of the proletariat required both a coherent doctrine and an organization that was capable of spreading the doctrine effectively. f. Russian conditions precluded an open proletariat party. g. Czarists police agents would immediately identify proletariat members and when the time was right, destroy the group. h. A truly democratic Russian Socialist party would be plagued by harassments, raids, arrests, and possible Siberian exile. i. Lenin shed no tears at the thought of a few socialist intellectuals spending some time in prison by stupidly or naively demanding adherence to democratic forms, even at the risk of political extinction, they openly invited ruin. j. The relative backwardness of Russia meant that the crucial links between workers and socialists were only just beginning to be forged. k. These links had to be firmly established if the workers were going to develop into the conscious revolutionary class that history demanded.	Deals with Communist Organizational Problems. Connor Lenin p. 31-77

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee C Political Theories of Communism (Cont.)	1. For Lenin, the Revolution was paramount - nothing could be permitted to delay or deter it, particularly not the democratic whims of a few intellectuals who fancied themselves Marxists. m. Because of the Czarist police, it entailed establishing a party of professional revolutionaries who were skilled enough in the conspiratorial arts to outwit the police. n. It required the formation of a small, disciplined, secret and centralized party capable of operating both independently and through unions and other front organizations. o. Finally it demanded the ouster of all those fools who mouthed democratic platitudes or who inanely trusted in the spontaneity of the masses. p. Lenin argued that any other course would be tantamount to political suicide. q. Lenin overtly denied any claims to theoretical innovation even where Lenin was undeniably original, as in his call for a tightly-knit conspiratorial party, he was quick to point out that it was only the peculiarity of Russian conditions which permitted a deviation from Marxist norms. r. Russian problems: While Russia was industrializing it had not yet gone through its Bourgeoisie Revolution- power was still in the hands of a reactionary agrarian regime. s. The primarily agrarian character of Czarist Russia presented a second problem: Marx had not assigned the peasantry a central or even a particularly significant role in his formulations. t. Lenin had to take account of the peasants if only for strategic or tactical purposes. 2. Lenin: Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution. a. Lenin linked the Bourgeoisie Revolution with a role for the peasantry. b. Lenin stated that Russia was passing through the Bourgeoisie Revolution.	Connor Lenin p. 31-77 Ibid. p. 79-108

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee C Political Theories of Communism (Cont.)	c. Lenin cautioned his comrades to expect crucial differences between the revolutionary experiences of Russia and the west. d. Backwardness, had stunted the Russian Bourgeoisie - through weakness or cowardice, the bourgeoisie might compromise with the forces of reaction. e. Socialists had good reason to be concerned with a compromise because of its effect on the timing of the proletarian revolution. f. Marx had stated that a period of bourgeoisie role was necessary in order to establish the economic and technical basis for socialism. g. Capitalists, frantically chasing profits, would construct a vast productive network that would ultimately exceed their power of control. h. In the process of creating this network, the capitalists would also whip up that huge wave of social discontent that would inevitably engulf capitalism. i. Thus, socialists could not allow the bourgeoisie revolution to fail. Whatever their feelings toward the bourgeoisie as a class, they had to ensure the success of its bourgeoisie revolution. j. The Russian proletariat was small; therefore, help was needed from other groups, and the only one which was both large enough to matter and discontented enough to provide assistance was the peasantry. k. Lenin, therefore, proposed the creation of a "revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry". l. Once the bourgeoisie revolution had run its course, Lenin knew full well that the coalition would disintegrate. m. Important sections of the peasants would defect to the bourgeoisie camp. At that point, the proletariat would have to ally with the mass of semi-proletarian elements of the population, that is, with the poorer strata of the peasantry.	

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee C Political Theories of Communism (Cont.)	EDITOR'S NOTE: 1. The Bolsheviks adopted Lenin's proposal for a revolutionary dictatorship of proletariat and peasantry in 1917 when they aligned themselves with radical segments of the peasantry in order to seize control of Russia. 2. Today, the same alliance (proletariat and peasants) forms the basis of revolutionary Communist strategies in underdeveloped countries. 3. The real importance of Two Tactics is that Lenin suggests the possibility of a Marxist Revolution in a country that has not fully passed through its capitalist stage of development. 3. Lenin: Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism a. Monopolistic practices that emerged in the last quarter of the 19th century had resulted in the creation of great industrial combinations: 1) Strong enough to suppress competition. 2) Ensure stable profit levels regardless of market conditions. b. Monopolization was paralleled by the concentration of enormous amounts of capital in a few large banks. c. Industrial monopolies required: 1) Reserves of raw materials. 2) Markets for their products. d. Financial institutions required outlets for their capital. e. Both groups solved their problems by turning to the undeveloped areas of the world: 1) At first privately, and later through their governments (which the capitalists controlled) the industrial and financial monopolies began to dominate and exploit vast areas of Asia, Africa, and South America. f. The monopolies extracted "super profits" from the colonies and use these funds to temporarily counteract Marx's law of falling profit in highly developed economies.	Connor Lenin p. 111-146

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Political Theories of Communism (Cont.)

g. These super profits were the reason why Marx's predictions of growing impoverishment and polarization had not been fulfilled in western Europe.
h. Colonial acquisition was the key to the survival of capitalism.
i. Yet not all of the powers were equally endowed with colonies:
   1) Britain and France acquired theirs at an early date, while Germany entered the colonial competition after the worthwhile territories had been claimed.
   2) The tardy powers then had no choice but to press for a redivision of the colonial status quo.
   3) It was this pressure for redivision that brought on the World War and which would continue to bring on wars so long as the imperialist order flourished, - that is, as long as capitalism survived as a social system.
   4) Although imperialism had delayed the fulfillment of Marx's predictions, it had not, Lenin argued, rendered them permanently invalid because:
      a) As colonies matured economically the profits would fall.
      b) Even before that point was reached, warfare would destroy some of the present powers.
      c) Successful anti-colonial revolution would cut off the flow of funds to the surviving powers.
   5) Lenin thus envisaged the Marxian class struggle on a gigantic international scale:
      a) An increasing number of exploited proletarian nations would confront a handful of the richest and most powerful imperialist states.
      b) The end result would be a proletariat revolution of worldwide dimensions that would overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish the classless society.
   6) Through imperialism, Lenin changed Marxism into an ideology that was relevant to backward non-industrialized areas of the world.

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THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION: Originally adopted in 1936

I. Chapter X. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

Hendel
The Soviet
Crucible
p. 321-323

A. Article 118--Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to work, that is, the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

B. Article 119--Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to rest and leisure. The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the establishment of an eight-hour day for industrial, office, and professional workers, the reduction of the working day to seven or six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in shops where conditions of work are particularly arduous: by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for industrial office and professional workers, and by the provisions of a wide network of sanatoria, holiday homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

C. Article 120--Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability.

D. Article 121--Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to education. This right is ensured by universal compulsory seven-year education; by extensive development of ten-year education, by free education in all schools, higher as well as secondary, by a system of state grants for students of higher schools who excel in their studies.

E. Article 122--Women in the U.S.S.R. are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political, and other public activity. The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured by women being accorded an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education, and by state protection of the interest of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries, and kindergartens.

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F. Article 123--Equality of rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R. irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political, and other public activity, is an indefeasible law. Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or conversely, the establishment of any direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, are punishable by law.

G. Article 124--In order to ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the U.S.S.R. is separated from the state, and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens.

H. Article 125--In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed by law:

a) freedom of speech
b) freedom of the press
c) freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meeting
d) freedom of street processions and demonstrations

These civil rights are ensured by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities, and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights.

I. Article 127--Citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed inviolability of the person. No person may be placed under arrest except by decision of a court or with the sanction of a procurator.

J. Article 128--The inviolability of the homes of citizens and privacy of correspondence are protected by law.

K. Article 132--Universal military service is law.

L. Article 133--To defend the country is the sacred duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. Treason to the Motherland--violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the state, espionage--is punishable with all the severity of the law as the most heinous of crimes.

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STRATEGY	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
V. Information Retrieval Committee D Political Realities of Communism	SUGGESTED INFORMATION RETRIEVAL ACTIVITIES

1. Interview parents, relatives, and friends and ask them to tell you about what Soviet government is really like. Record, tally, and analyze their answers. See to what extent their statements are true.

2. Expand #1 to develop a test of Communist government which can be given to classmates or others in the school, relatives, etc. (The committee may work with Committee C). Give the test after your committee reports to determine how effective your reporting was.

3. Interview the man on the street using a tape recorder. Ask such questions as "Do you think the people of the U.S.S.R. like their government?" "...have political freedom?" "...can get the government to change policies they do not like?"...

4. Interview any local immigrants from the Soviet Union or other Eastern European country about their experiences.

5. Contact the Soviet embassy for information on current political information on political life in the U.S.S.R.

6. Through the Readers Guide...locate and compile recent articles on topics such as freedom, justice, human rights, dissent, anti-semitism, etc.

7. Identify various publications from the Jewish press such as The Cleveland Jewish News, The Ohio Chronicle, Haddasah, etc. and compile articles which describe the plight of the Jews in the Soviet Union, especially those who wish to emigrate to Israel or other countries.

8. Compare the versions of political life as described in Soviet *and non-Soviet* sources.

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STRATEGY		LEARNING ACTIVITIES
V.	Information Retrieval Committee D Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)	9. Evaluate the rights of Soviet citizens as compared with the Bill of Rights (U.S.). 10. Utilizing back issues of Current History, develop a chronology of major Soviet political changes in terms of policy and personnel changes.

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee D Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)	I. General Nature of Soviet Government A. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics 1. Federal nation. 2. Composed of fifteen (15) "union republics". 3. Population exceeds 240 million people. 4. Over 180 nationality groups with 150 languages. B. Federal Powers 1. Jurisdiction over all political and commercial relations with foreign nations. 2. Armed forces. 3. Transportation and communication facilities. 4. Basic labor laws. 5. Basic criminal and civil legal procedure. 6. Formulation of national economic plans. 7. Administration of national and republic budgets. 8. Collection and distribution of taxes. 9. Administration of banking system. 10. Control of all industrial, agricultural, and trading enterprises of all-union importance. 11. Control of monetary system. 12. Operation of all insurance facilities. 13. Control of basic land tenure principles. 14. Control of mineral wealth, forests, waters, and other resources. 15. Uniform system of national statistics. 16. Appoints Procurator-General (chief law enforcement officer). 17. Elects Supreme Court of U.S.S.R. 18. Elect Chairman of Council of Ministers of U.S.S.R. II. Major Governmental Institutions A. Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. 1. Bicameral legislative body. a. Soviet of the Union --representation directly proportionate to population. --considers national legislation.	Comparative Economic Systems Loucks & Whitney See chart.

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee D Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)	b. Soviet of Nationalities --greater proportionate representation to less densely populated areas. --considers regional legislation. 2. Composition and Functi s a. Highest legislative body. b. In theory, it resembles the U.S. Congress. c. In theory, it is bicameral, consisting of two chambers. d. Over 1500 elected deputies. e. Soviet deputies serve 4 year terms. f. Supreme Soviet meets twice a year. g. Legislation must be passed by majority vote of both chambers (except constitutional amendments which require 2/3 vote). h. Each Soviet has power to initiate legislation. i. The two Soviets have equal power. j. Disagreements between Soviets are handled by a conciliation board (similar to a U.S. Congressional Conference Committee). k. If conciliation board and future consideration by both Soviets fail to resolve disagreement, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet dissolves the Supreme Soviet and calls for a new election of deputies. 3. Election Procedure - Supreme Soviet a. Presidium (chairman) of the Supreme Soviet issues a decree announcing the election date. b. Central Election Commissions for the Union formulate election rules. c. Central Commission, subsidiary republic commissions and other local political subdivision commissions are charged with administering the elections. d. Voting is secret. e. Voting right possessed by all citizens eighteen years of age, "irrespective of race, nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status or post activities".	

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V. Informatic Retrieval

Committee D

Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)

f. A citizen may vote in any electoral area he happens to be in on election day.
g. Candidates may be nominated by any public organization or society of working people (trade unions, cooperative youth organization, etc.).
h. Initially there may be many nominees for one office of deputy to a chamber of the Supreme Soviet.
i. The field is narrowed to one candidate for each office through nomination meetings attended by electoral representatives of the various nominating bodies in the political subdivision. (actual election takes place at this stage).
j. A list of all selected candidates is prepared (called 'bloc of Communist and non-party people') and submitted to the Soviet voters who accept or reject the bloc candidates.
k. Purpose of final ballot is not to determine who will be elected but to gain as near 100% support for each bloc candidate.
l. In theory, a candidate must receive more than one half of the votes cast in his election district.
m. In practice, rejection of a candidate is nonexistent.
n. Candidates come from all walks of life and some are not members of the Communist Party.

B. Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.
1. Elected by the Supreme Soviet at a joint session.
2. Consists of a chairman, fifteen deputy chairmen representing the constituent republics, a secretary and fifteen additional members.
3. A small group in continuous session that functions as the day by day head of the government.
4. The agency for making current decisions chiefly on legislative matters but partially on administrative matters.
5. The Presidium has the power to issue decrees having the full force of law when the Supreme Soviet is not in session.
6. Presidium actions are subject to ratification by the Supreme Soviet.

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee D Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)	C. Council of Ministers 1. Organizationally, the Council of Ministers is the highest executive body in the Soviet government. 2. In practice, it is also a legislative body that issues orders and decrees with the full force of law. 3. It is responsible for carrying out the legislative dictates of the Supreme Soviet and the Presidium. 4. Important orders and decrees are countersigned by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. 5. The Chairman is elected by the Supreme Soviet. 6. Chairman of Council of Ministers is national head of state. 7. Council membership includes the Chairman, fifteen Chairman of Ministers from the constituent republics, and heads of other working agencies subordinate to the Council. D. Supreme Court of the Soviet Union 1. Supervises all judicial agencies and activities in country. 2. Court of final appeal. 3. Members of Supreme Court elected by Supreme Soviet for five year terms. 4. Lower Courts. a. Supreme court in each of the constituent republics elected by respective republic supreme soviets. b. Lowest courts called People's Courts. 1) Established in all city districts and rural areas. 2) Court composed of one legally trained judge and two untrained People's Justices. 3) People's Justices have equal right to dissent and can outvote judge. E. State Procurator General of the U.S.S.R. 1. Responsible for formal enforcement of laws. 2. Supreme Soviet appoints State Procurator General for 7 year term. 3. State Procurator General appoints state procurators of constituent republics who in turn, appoint local and district procurators with State Procurator General's permission.	

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STRATEGY		CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval		4. Procurators function through Ministry of Justice in constituent republics.	
Committee D Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)	III.	Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) A. Party Membership 1. Open to all Soviet citizens who a. Accept party program. b. Accept rules of the party. c. Take an active part in promoting party objectives. d. Work in one of the many party organizations. e. Carry out all party decisions. f. Pay party dues. g. Have faith in values of Communist society. h. Give priority to party considerations in all matters. 2. Most members follow a normal route to full membership in the party through junior bodies such as the Young Pioneers and the Young Communist League. 3. Full party membership attainable at age 23. 4. Qualifications of prospective member are scrutinized by local and district party officials. 5. Prospective members must have 2 or 3 party sponsors. 6. Approximately 16 million of the 240 million Soviet citizens are party members. B. Party Organization, C.P.S.U. 1. Organizational structure of the party is based on the principle that for every geographic or functional government agency there shall be a corresponding body of the party. 2. The smallest party unit is called a cell.	

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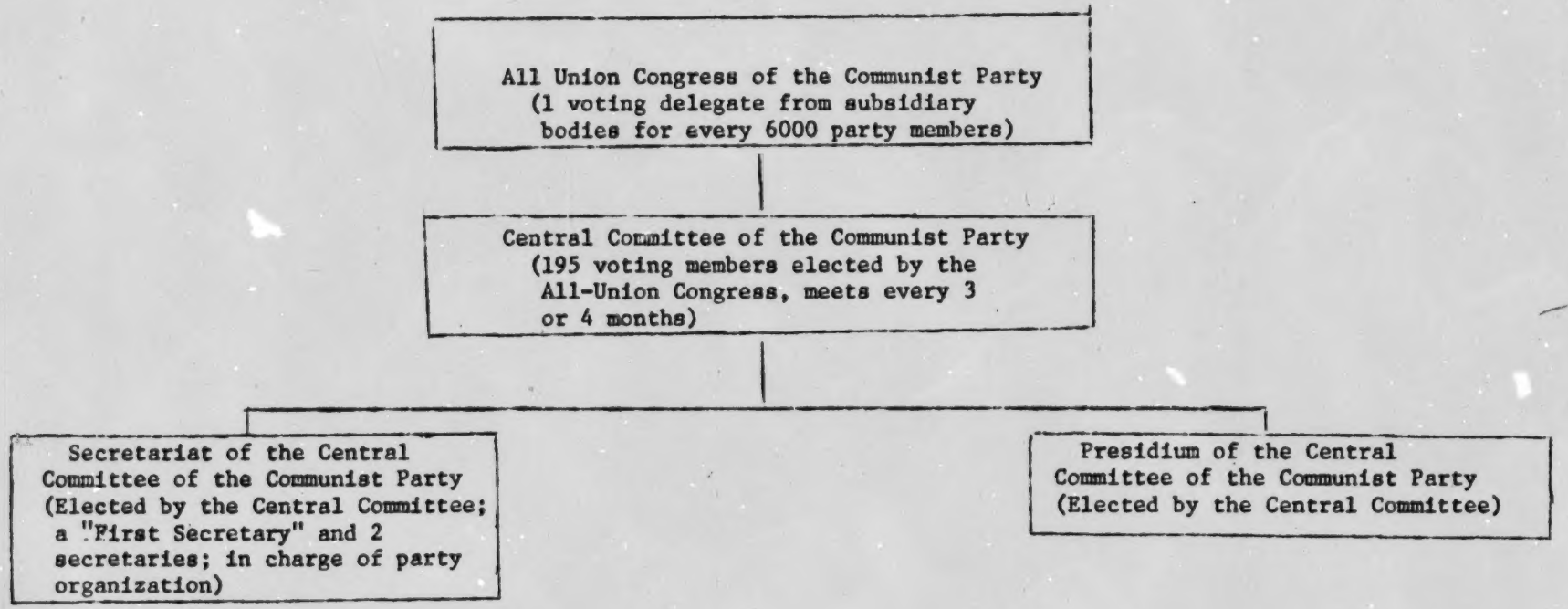
All Union Congress of the Communist Party
(1 voting delegate from subsidiary bodies for every 6000 party members)
Central Committee of the Communist Party
(195 voting members elected by the All-Union Congress, meets every 3 or 4 months)
Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party
(Elected by the Central Committee; a "First Secretary" and 2 secretaries; in charge of party organization)
Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party
(Elected by the Central Committee)

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Committee D

Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)

3. Theoretically, the highest governing body of the party is the All Union Congress of the Communist Party.
   a. Supposed to meet every three years but meets only infrequently.
      e.g. --no meetings held between 1938 to 1952.
           --23rd Congress held in 1966.
           --24th Congress held in 1971.
   b. Elects members of the Central Committee.

C. Central Committee of the Communist Party
   1. 195 members and 125 alternates elected by the All Union Congress.
   2. Body gives party top direction through meetings held every 3 or 4 months.
   3. Receive and ratify Politburo recommendations.
   4. Sometimes debate and modify Politburo recommendations.
   5. Membership consists of top party and government officials.
   6. Central Committee elects:
      a. The Secretariat
      b. The Politburo (Presidium)

D. Secretariat of the Central Committee
   1. Consists of 11 members elected by the Central Committee.
   2. Has day to day control of party organization.
   3. First Secretary controls subordinate bodies.
   4. Instructions flow downward and reports and information flow upward throughout the party structure.

E. Politburo (Presidium, Political Bureau of the Central Committee)
   1. Consists of 11 members elected by Central Committee.
   2. Functions as the top policy-making executive committee.
   3. Politburo discussions yield the <u>right</u> policy for the party on any issue confronting the Soviet Union.

IV. Democracy and the Soviet One-Party Political System

A. Rationale for a one-party system.

"that after the expropriation of large-scale private ownership of the means of production society gradually moves toward homogeneity. ... As time goes on the social-political unit of the new society becomes

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee D Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)	stronger and stronger. ... In those conditions there is no social basis for the political parties having different ideological and political platforms, let alone opposing platforms. The trend toward a one-party system can therefore be regarded as quite natural in a socialist society." B. Major arguments against one-party system 1. No matter what the constitutional provisions for civil liberties may be in the Soviet system, in practice, they do not adhere to them. 2. By its very nature, inherently a one-party system cannot practice full and true democracy.	Soviet Union Today, Oct. 1966, p. 6
	V. POLITICAL REALITIES #1 Myth: The Russian revolution was the world's first successful Marxist Revolution. Reality: In the course of his life, Marx kept changing his mind about what he did and did not want. Therefore, it is possible to find a little something in Marx for everyone even if it is contradictory.	
Does world conflict justify a state having a "secret police" force to weed out spies?	A. Pareto - "The statements of Karl Marx are like bats, from one angle they resemble birds, while from another view they look like mice". 1. Thus one can see what one wants to see in Marx, uninhibited by what really might be there. 2. Using such leeway, Marx's followers set off on all kinds of tangents. This should have been expected because by their nature revolutionaries usually oppose authority; inevitably they tend to substitute their own rules, which in turn appear imposed authority to younger revolutionaries.	Goldman The Soviet Economy p. 15
Concept of a Frame of Reference	B. In Russia, Lenin broadened the revolutionary base to include the peasants. As a tactic, this was perfectly reasonable; however, as Marxism, this was virtually heretical because Marx always argued that it was the proletariat who would lead the Revolution. The peasants were usually thought to be too conservative.	

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee D Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)	C. Marxism may have appealed to the Russian. Marxism was not intended for predominantly agricultural countries. As a result, the character of Communist government had to be altered to fit local circumstances and needs so that in the extreme case, it has become more the revolutionary doctrine of and for the peasants than the proletariat. POLITICAL REALITIES #2 <u>Czar and Commissar: Brothers under the skin</u> I. Russia's Communists did not start the revolution of March 1917 through a skillful conspiracy carried out with utmost secrecy, as some believe. A. The revolution was actually a spontaneous reaction by the Russian people. The Communist overthrew the weak, revolutionary (Kerensky) government that briefly held power after the overthrow of the Czar. B. After the successful coup of November 1917, Lenin offered only a vague outline of Communist goals, his vagueness directly reflected the unclear pronouncements of Karl Marx. 1. Marx's only plan was that after the bourgeoisie (middle class) revolution overthrew the feudal order, the working class (proletariat) would take power in its own hands to create a society in which all men were politically and socially equal. 2. When the struggle between the Bolsheviks and anti-Communist forces ended, Lenin had not evolved any clear plan or method for achieving that egalitarian society. C. The Soviet Union has a continuity of problems and methods with Czarist Russia. 1. After the Bolshevik Revolution, which was supposed to emancipate and dignify the working class, many social customs of the Czarists elite were carried over into Soviet society.	Salisbury <u>Soviet Union</u> p. 9-17

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee D Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)	2. Industrialization projects considered necessary and planned for under the Czars were adopted by the Soviet government. 3. The purges, secret police, and prison camps which had been characteristic of Czarist despotism were maintained by each successive Soviet regime.	Salisbury The Soviet Union p. 9-16
	POLITICAL REALITIES #3	
	How The Soviet Union Is Ruled	Ibid. p. 17-27
	I. Power is vested in an oligarchy (rule of the few). This group uses no clear-cut constitutional methods to confer or transfer authority. A. Although there is a constitution with provisions similar to those found in constitutions of democratic countries, the Communist Party actually dominates all governmental activities. B. The highest administrative and policy making organ of the party is the Presidium; it is the oligarchy that actually rules the Soviet Union. C. Any changes wrought by the mysterious machinations of the government are indirectly announced to the people who have, of course, no hand in making them - by such subtle means as omitting the name of a hitherto prominent figure from newspaper stories, or changing the order in which officials' portraits are arrayed at public events. D. Changes of membership in the oligarchy almost invariably come about through a disorderly power struggle in which contenders use any means to line up support of the big power groupings - army, secret police, and key party secretaries. 1. Stalin named the Presidium and ruled it with an iron hand, killing or imprisoning any rival or opponent.	

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	ERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee D Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)	2. Khrushchev triumphed over the triumvirate that sought to hold power after Stalin's death, and managed to retain power in a 1957 struggle in which he was aided by Marshal Zhukov, who brought in central committee members to the Kremlin to overturn a Presidium vote against Khrushchev. Then, having a demonstration of Zhukov's power, Khrushchev deposed him. 3. Partly because of the Cuban debacle in 1962 and the failure of the grain crop in 1963, the Presidium secretly voted Khrushchev out of power in 1964 and installed Kosygin and Brezhnev. E. In the interim between single rulers, the struggle for power goes on, with potentially dangerous effects for the Soviet Union and the world. 1. There is confusion in the top levels of government, impairing its efficiency. 2. There is a possibility that ambitious men in the Kremlin may play politics with intercontinental missiles in order to advance their personal drives for power. F. Recently there have been indications that the Soviet Union might be moving away from this medieval system. 1. Soviet statesmen are no longer shot when they are removed from office. a. Khrushchev was removed with some regard for statutes and has been subjected to recriminations that are rather mild. TERROR AS A SYSTEM OF POWER -- Merle Fainsod I. Terror is the linchpin of modern totalitarianism. A. What distinguishes twentieth century totalitarianism from earlier patterns of more primitive dictatorship is not the use of terror and a secret police as instruments of control but rather their high development as an organized system of power.	Article by Merle Fainsod appears in Hendel The Soviet Crucible p. 354-376

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee D Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)	B. With the emergence of totalitarianism, terror has become elaborately institutionalized, has developed its own bureaucratic apparatus and specialized professionalism, and has spread its net over the whole range of society. C. The large-scale organizational rationalization of the totalitarian terror machine introduces a new dimension of cold-blooded efficiency and calculated violence in comparison with which even the Jacobin terror takes on the character of a spontaneous and chaotic Jacquerie. D. Terror is not the only method by which a totalitarian regime maintains itself in power: 1. Loyalty and devotion must also be elicited. 2. The skillful totalitarian dictator weaves a complex web of controls in which indoctrination and incentives have their appointed places. 3. Agitation and propaganda may rally fanatic support, and appeals to self-interest may enlist the energies. 4. When discontent accumulates, "loyalty" to the regime may be consolidated by providing scapegoats on whom frustrated aggression may exhaust itself. 5. The shrewd totalitarian dictatorship may go further and permit ventilation of grievances of a nonpolitical and nonorganized character. It may even institutionalize such expression as the Soviet dictatorship does when it sanctions criticism of bureaucratic malpractice or inefficiency. II. Yet ultimately the totalitarian dictator must depend on terror to safeguard his monopoly of power. Behind the totalitarian facade, the instrument of terror can always be found, ready for use when needed, operative, above all, even when not visible by the mere fact that it is known to exist. III. Because the totalitarian regime provides no legitimate channel for the expression of political dissent, its constant concern is to prevent or eliminate its illegal existence.	Hendel The Soviet Crucible p. 354-376

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee D Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)	A. To accomplish this purpose, it recruits its specialist in espionage and terror and uses fear as a political weapon. B. The secret police becomes the core of totalitarian power, an omnipresent and pervasive force which envelops every sector of society in an ominous cloud of suspicion and insecurity. C. The task of the secret police is to serve as the eyes and ears of the dictatorship, as well as its sword. IV. Violence is accepted as implicit in the Communist concept of the class struggle: A. As Lenin said in defending the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, "Violence when it is committed by the toiling and exploited masses is the kind of violence of which we approve." B. This instrumental attitude toward violence prepares the way for its sanctification when employed by the Communist Party in the name of the working class and by the Party leadership in the name of the party. V. The Soviet rationalization of terror embraces two central propositions. A. The safety of the revolution as the supreme law. 1. In the words of Lenin, "The Soviet Republic is a fortress besieged by world capital.....From this follows our right and our duty to mobilize the whole population to a man for the war." B. The second reason emphasized the intransigence of the enemies of the revolution, the necessity of crushing them completely if the revolution itself is not to be destroyed. VI. The real significance of Stalin's theory of Soviet terror did not become fully manifest until the period of the Great Purge in the thirties. A. The liquidation of the Old Bolsheviks made it altogether clear that the salient role of terror in Stalinist ideology was to serve as a bulwark of defense for his own monopoly of Party leadership.	

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V. Information Retrieval

Committee D

Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)

1. Since this involved establishing a regime of terror within the Party, Stalin was faced with the problem of reconciling his innovation with the traditional notion that terror was reserved for the class enemy.
2. The problem was neatly and ruthlessly solved by identifying any form of opposition to Stalin with counterrevolution and foreign espionage.
3. The formula of capitalist encirclement proved elastic enough to embrace the enemy inside the Party as well as the enemy outside. Stalin put it as follows:

   "It should be remembered and never forgotten that as long as capitalist encirclement exists there will be wreckers, diversionists, spies, terrorists, sent behind the frontiers of the Soviet Union of the intelligence services of foreign states."

INSTRUMENTS OF SOVIET TERROR

I. In pre-revolutionary days, the Bolsheviks had occasion to acquire an intimate familiarity with the operations of the Czarist Okhrana (secret police).

Hendel
The Soviet Crucible
p. 354-476

II. Lenin quickly decided that the Bolsheviks would have to develop their own Okhrana.
   A. In a memorandum dated December 19-20, 1917, Lenin called for the organization to move against counterrevolution and sabotage.
   B. On December 20, 1917, the Council of People's Commissars approved a decree establishing the Cheka or All-Russian Extraordinary Commission.
      1. Workers, soldiers, and peasants were instructed to inform the Cheka "about organizations and individual persons whose activity is harmful to the Revolution."
      2. At the same time, a system of revolutionary tribunals was established to investigate and try offenses which bore the character of sabotage and counterrevolution.

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V. Information Retrieval

Committee D

Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)

3. As the White Russian forces began to rally their strength, the Cheka spread its net more widely and turned to sterner measures. On February 22, 1918, the Cheka ordered all local soviets "to seek out, arrest, and shoot immediately all members connected in one form or another with counterrevolutionary organizations."

C. On August 30, 1918, Uritsky, the head of the Petrograd Cheka, was assassinated, and Lenin was seriously wounded.
1. The attack on Uritsky and Lenin unleashed mass reprisals.
a. In Petrograd alone, more than five hundred "counterrevolutionaries and White Guards" were immediately shot.

D. As the Cheka broadened the scope of its activities, it also jealously resisted any interference with its claimed authority. Its tendency to set itself above and beyond the law aroused concern even in Bolshevik circles.
1. After the end of the Civil War an effort was made to impose legal limits and restraints on Cheka operations.

III. On February 8, 1922, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee issued a decree abolishing the Cheka and its local organs and transferring its functions to a newly created State Political Administration (GPU).

A. The mass incidence of OGPU arrests during the period of the First Five Year Plan was most widely felt in the countryside. — Hendel *The Soviet Crucible* p. 354-376
1. The commitment to collectivize and mechanize agriculture involved a decision to liquidate the kulaks as a class, on the ground that they were inveterate enemies of Soviet power and could be counted on to sabotage collectivization.
2. Stalin estimated in November, 1928 that the kulaks constituted about 5 percent of the rural population or more than one million of the twenty-five million peasant families.
3. The OGPU was assigned the task of ejecting them from their land, confiscating their property and deporting them to the North and Siberia.

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee D Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)	a. Some of the more recalcitrant were shot when they resisted arrest or responded with violence to efforts to dispossess them. b. The great majority became ward of the OGPU and were sentenced to forced labor in lumber camps or coal mines, or on canals, railroads, and other public works which the OGPU directed. c. At one stroke, the OGPU became the master of the largest pool of labor in the Soviet Union. B. The powers of the OGPU were concurrently enhanced. The OGPU was given authority to enforce the obligatory passport system introduced in large areas of the Soviet Union at the end of 1932. IV. In July, 1934, the OGPU was transformed into the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, or NKVD. A. The enlarged activities of the NKVD included responsibility for state security, all penal institutions, fire departments, police, militia, convoy troops, frontier guards, troops of internal security, highway administration, and civil registry offices. B. For the first time, all institutions of detention were placed under one jurisdiction. The secret police and their supporting military formations were united with the ordinary police. A formidable structure of power was cemented. C. The Great Purge (1934-1938) 1. The bite of the first phase of the purge is indicated by the striking decline of party membership from 2,807,786 in January, 1934 to 2,044,412 in April, 1936. In a little over two years, more than one out of every four members and candidates disappeared from the party rolls. 2. The Great Purge reached its climax in the period 1936-1938. Its most dramatic external manifestation was the series of show trials in the course of which every trace of Old Bolshevik opposition leadership was officially discredited and exterminated.	Hendel The Soviet Crucible p. 354-376

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee D Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)	3. The crescendo of the Great Purge was reached in second phase, which extended from late September, 1937, when Yezhov was appointed head of the NKVD, until the end of July, 1938, when Lavrenti Beria was designated as Yezhov's deputy and eventual successor. a. The period of the Yezhovshchina involved a reign of terror without parallel in Soviet history. b. Among those arrested, imprisoned, and executed were a substantial proportion of the leading figures in the Party and government hierarchy. The Bolshevik Old Guard was destroyed. The roll of Yezhov's victims included not only former oppositionists but many of the most stalwart supporters of Stalin in his protracted struggle with the opposition. No sphere of Soviet life, however lofty, was left untouched. D. How does one explain the Purge? What motives impelled Stalin to organize a blood bath of such frightening proportions? 1. The slaughter of the Bolshevik Old Guard may be viewed partly as a drastic reprisal for past insubordination; it was more probably intended as preventive measure to end once and for all any possibility of resistance or challenge from this direction. 2. The extension of the Purge to the Stalinist stalwarts in the Party and governmental apparatus is much more difficult to fathom. It is possible that many fell victim to the system of denunciations in the course of which their loyalty to Stalin was put in question, or that a number were still involved in official or personal relationships with former oppositionists, that some were liquidated because they displayed traces of independence in their dealings with the Supreme Leader. 3. Implicit in any understanding of the Purge is a theory of the role of terror in Stalin's formula of government.	Hendel The Soviet Crucible p. 354-376

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee D Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)	a. The consolidation of personal rule in a totalitarian system depends on the constant elimination of all actual or potential competitors for supreme power. b. The too strongly entrenched official with an independent base of power is by definition a threat to the dictator's total sway. c. The individuals or groups who go uncontrolled and undirected are regarded as fertile soil for growth of conspiratorial intrigue. 4. The function of terror is two fold: a. It is designed to nip any possible resistance or opposition in the bud. b. As an instrument for the reinforcement of the personal power of the dictator, it is directed toward ensuring perpetual circulation in the ranks of office holders in order to forestall the crystallization of autonomous islands of countervailing force. E. As the fury of the Purge mounted, Stalin and his intimates finally became alarmed. 1. Evidence accumulated that the Purge was over-reaching itself and that much talent sorely needed by the regime was being irretrievably lost. 2. The first signal of a change of policy was given in a resolution of the January, 1938 plenum of the Party Central Committee. a. The resolution identified a new culprit, the Communist-careerists, who sought to make capital out of the purge by securing promotions through provocatory denunciations of their superiors. b. It was these careerists, the resolution charged, who were primarily responsible for sowing suspicion and insecurity within Party ranks.	Hendel The Soviet Crucible p. 354-376

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee D Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)	c. The immediate effect of this revelation was to produce a new purge of so-called Communist-careerists. At the same time the Communist Press began to carry stories of the reinstatements of honest Communists who had been the unfortunate victims of unjustified denunciations. 3. The third and final phase of the Great Purge involved the purging of the purgers. a. In late July, 1938, Yezhov's sun began to set when Beria took over as his deputy. In December, Yezhov was ousted as head of the NKVD and appointed Commissar for Inland Water Transport, from which post he soon disappeared unmourned but not forgotten. b. During the same month came the sensational announcement of the arrest, trial, and shooting of the head of the NKVD of Moldavia and a group of his examiners for extracting false confessions from innocent prisoners. c. It was now the turn of Yezhov and his collaborators to play the role of scapegoat for the excess of the Purge. A wave of arrest spread through the NKVD organization. The prisons began to fill with former NKVD examiners, many prisoners who had been tortured by these same examiners had the welcome experience of greeting their former tormenters as cell mates in prisons and forced labor camps. d. The "Great Change" as it was soon to become known, was marked by a substantial amelioration in prison conditions and examining methods. 1) Prisoners were released by the thousands, and many were restored to old positions or even promoted. 4. Stalin now presented himself in the guise of the dispenser of mercy and justice. a. Excesses of the Purge were blamed on subordinate officials who had exceeded their authority, saboteurs who had tried to break the indissoluble link which bound Leader and people, and careerists and counterrevolutionaries who had instituted themselves into the Party and NKVD organizations in order to subvert and undermine the Soviet regime.	Hendel The Soviet Crucible p. 354-376

STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee D Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)	EDITOR'S NOTE: After Joseph Stalin died in 1953, Beria became Deputy Premier. He was arrested four months later, tried on charges of treason, and executed. POLITICAL REALITIES #4 STALIN: A CASE STUDY IN THE ACQUISITION OF POWER I. Stalin: The leader and the party. A. Politbureau made major policy decisions. B. The Orgbureau (Organization Bureau) was in charge of the party's personnel, it was free to call up, direct to work, and distribute throughout the army and the civil service. C. From 1919, Stalin was the only permanent liaison officer between the Politbureau and the Orgbureau - Stalin was immersed in the daily affairs of the party. D. April 3, 1922 - Stalin was elevated to the post of General Secretary of the Central Committee. His chief job would be coordination. E. The seven member politbureau was the brains of the Soviet Union. F. In the General Secretariat (Stalin's new position) resided the more material power of management and directions. 1. The secretariat prepared the agenda for each session of the politbureau. 2. The secretariat supplied the documentation on every point under debate. 3. The secretariat could twist the practical execution of the politbureau's decisions. 4. Similar bodies exist in any governmental machinery but rarely acquire independent authority. G. Stalin essentially interested in the practical use of the Leninists power sources, not in the Leninist laboratory of thought. H. Politbureau probably thrown into disarray by Lenin's death--not so with Stalin--he no longer had to account for what he did to the vigilant and astute Lenin.	Daniels The Stalin Revolution p. 1-7

Editor's Note: Lenin sponsored Stalin's candidacy for this post.

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee D Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)	I. Stalin moves for more power. 1. He explained acts of repression against malcontents in the light of party statutes of the tenth and eleventh party congresses. 2. He packed the offices with his friends. 3. When complaints were registered with the politbureau, Stalin reminded the members of the division of responsibilities: The politbureau was to pass policy decisions; the General Secretariat and the Orgbureau were in charge of party personnel. 4. The personnel department kept solid files with most detailed records of the party's "key men". a. The personnel department spread a network of branches throughout the country. b. It had the power to order members to change their occupation and place of residence at the shortest notice, to shift from the capital to the wilderness of Siberia. 5. The General Secretary was also responsible for appointments of provincial party leaders. 6. Communist fear of a Russian usurper (like Napoleon in the French Revolution). a. The usurper would probably be a personality possessed of brilliance and legendry fame won in battles. 1) The mask of Bonaparte seemed to fit Trotsky all too well. 2) It certainly didn't fit Stalin. 3) Stalin's strength resulted from the fact that he seemed harmless - Stalin was disarming. 7. Stalin's chief characteristics (prior to gaining control of Russia) a. Quiet - did not confide his innermost thoughts to anyone. b. Modest. c. Cultivated his contacts. d. Unsurpassed at the art of patiently listening. e. Seemed to lack egotism. f. Gift of silence. g. Private life beyond reproach - "This passionate politician has no other vices. He loves neither money, nor pleasure, neither sports, nor women"...Brazhavov.	Daniel The Stalin Revolution p. 4

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee D Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)	h. Nor did Stalin at any time impress people as being more tolerant than befitted a Bolshevik leader. i. He never seemed to impose his views on his colleagues. j. He checked which way the wind was blowing and voted with the majority. II. In 1929, five years after Lenin's death, Soviet Russia embarked upon her second revolution, which was directed solely and exclusively by Joseph Stalin. POLITICAL REALITIES #5 <u>The Stalin Revolution</u> I. The problem of industrial development. A. Stalin caught between Marxism and Russian backwardness.	
Are these policy differences or political warfare?	II. The struggles with the right opposition. A. Stalin's fight with the Bukhanin Group. III. New man in Soviet psychology. A. Stalin imposes special controls on intellectual life - writers, artists, scientists and communist theorists. IV. Economics and personality. A. There is reason to doubt that Stalin's high speed program was really the most effective path to industrialization. V. The fate of workers. A. Destruction of labor unions and dismal deterioration in the proletariats' conditions of working and living.	Daniels <u>The Stalin Revolution</u>. p. 1-73
Tragic awareness or sour grapes?	VI. The crackdown on the Party. A. Excerpts from an anonymously published letter in New York entitled, <u>The Letter of An Old Bolshevik</u>.	

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
.. Information Retrieval	B. Reveal a sense of total disillusionment felt by a former Communist leader in the U.S.S.R.	
Committee D	POLITICAL REALITIES #6 - CASE STUDY	
Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)	APPEAL IN SOVIET ASKS FOR DEMOCRATIZATION	
	Academician: Andrei D. Sakharov has written a 4,000 word appeal to the Soviet government asking more freedom for intellectuals.	
	"The desire of the intelligentsia to have greater freedom is legitimate and natural", the letter continued, "the state, however, suppresses this desire - by introducing various restrictions, administrative pressure, dismissals and even the holding of trials."	
	"How can one justify the imprisonment, the detention in camps and mental asylums of persons whose opposition is still within legal bounds in the area of ideas and convictions?"	Source: New York Times April 3, 1970 page 3, column 2
	POLITICAL REALITIES #7	
	Anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union	
	A. Stanley Lowell, co-chairman of American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry, appealed to a congressional hearing for help against the rising tide of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. B. Other Jewish leaders deplored what they described was the continuing suppression of Jewish cultural and spiritual rights within the Soviet Union.	Source: New York Times April 14, 1970 page 15, column 8

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee D Political Realities of Communism (Cont.)	POLITICAL REALITIES #8 SOVIET PARENTS BID SON END FAST AT UNITED NATIONS The parents of Yakov Kazakov appealed to him today to end a hunger strike he began several days ago on their behalf outside United Nations headquarters. Iosif Kazakov, an unemployed Moscow engineer and his wife, Sonia, made the appeal in a cablegram addressed to Premier Golda Meir of Israel, requesting that it be delivered to their son by Israel's United Nations representative. In their cablegram, the parents expressed confidence that the fast would help them leave the Soviet Union - but they added that this will take time and "further continuation of the hunger strike is senseless and will only harm your health." POLITICAL REALITIES #9 RIGA JEW'S LETTERS CHARGE PERSECUTION Three letters written by a 33 year old Soviet Jew describing how he was persecuted for his religious beliefs and dismissed from his job were made public here this week. The writer, Mendel G. Gordin, a medical laboratory supervisor from Riga, Latvia said he had been dismissed for asking for a day off for Yom Kipper. He added that he had been threatened with criminal proceedings for "parasitism" if he did not find a job and had been thwarted in attempts to emigrate to Israel. The letters were addressed to Secretary General Thant of the United Nations.	Source: New York Times April 1, 1970 page 5, column 1 Source: New York Times April 5, 1970 page 60, column 7

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STRATEGY	LEARNING ACTIVITY
V. Information Retrieval Committee E Introduction to Communist China	SUGGESTED INFORMATION RETRIEVAL ACTIVITIES 1. Contact the American Consulate General, Hong Kong, for copies of their translated series covering important articles from mainland China newspapers and magazines. Also ask for a copy of recent Background Reports on selected topics. 2. Contact China Books and Periodicals, San Francisco, for catalog of Communist Chinese books, pamphlets, and magazines printed in English that are for sale at reasonable prices. 3. Utilize magazines such as Current History, Foreign Affairs, Time, Newsweek, etc. for current articles on the Peoples Republic of China. 4. Research a biographical study of Chinese leaders such as Mao Tse-tung, Chiang Kai-shek, Sun Yat-sen. 5. Contact the United States Mission to the United Nations and request background papers and current information about U.S. foreign policy toward both Chinas. 6. Contact the Office of the President and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for information about shifts in American foreign policy toward the two Chinas.

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee E Introduction to Communist China	Traditional China: Confucian Ideals and Values I. While the Western world was coming under the humanist influence of the Greek philosopher Socrates, the Chinese sage Confucius (B.C. 551-479) was teaching ethics to the Chinese lords and scholars. A. By the time of Christ, the Chinese had come to accept Confucian principles as the basic element of their value system. B. The upper classes were schooled in the Confucian classics, and due to their position in the government of China, Confucianism became the basis of political ideology. 1. Confucian ideals were passed on the lower classes through example and through the teaching of upper class scholar officials. C. Between the third and tenth centuries, the Buddhists challenged Confucianists but never had a strong influence over Chinese economic or political life, for Buddhism made no concrete proposals for political action. 1. The ruling elites continued to cling to Confucian values as a guide for their decision-making process.	Ford, Tradition and Four Societies p. 266-268
	II. The Sayings of Confucius. A. Confucius said: "By nature men are pretty much alike; it is learning and practice that set them apart." B. Confucius said: "A young man's duty is to be loyal to his parents at home and respectful to his elder abroad, to be cautious and truthful, and, while overflowing with love for all men, to associate himself with humanity." C. Confucius said: "My teaching contains one principle that runs through it all--loyalty and reciprocity." D. Confucius said: "Do not do to others what you would not want others to do to you." E. Confucius names the five virtues: Confucius said: "Courtesy, magnanimity (generosity), good faith, diligence and kindness." F. Confucius said: "To be able to practice these five virtues everywhere in the world constitutes humanity."	

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee E Introduction to Communist China (Cont.) What impact would the extended family have on the spread of a Revolutionary Doctrine?	The Extended Family--China I. At a minimum, it included the parents, their unmarried children, and their married sons together with the latter's wives and children. A. Often it included a fourth and fifth generation as well as second and third cousins. B. Each subordinate family usually lived in its own set of rooms, connected by a common courtyard. C. The extended family was run by the father, although a family council of older men of ten helped settle such questions as what additional land the family should buy, which professions the sons should follow, and whom the sons and daughters should marry. D. In line with the teachings of Confucius, the men were considered superior to the women, and the older persons to the younger. E. The family functioned as an economic unit, with each male member contributing to the common budget and sharing in the family's income and property.	Fitzgerald The China Giant p. 16-18
	COMMUNIST CHINA: Introduction I. The United States was not surprised when Communist China exploded its first atomic bomb in October 1964. But in 1900 (during the Boxer Rebellion) the fact that the Chinese could shoot straight was headline news. A. Communist China's military power is now a threat to all its neighbors, from Southeast Asia and India to Siberia and Japan. B. The effectiveness of Chinese armed might was demonstrated in the Korean War in 1950--51. II. Communist China teaches its people that the U.S. is its greatest enemy. A. Anti-American hatred is instilled in the nursery in Communist China, and is fostered in every way. III. Chinese Communist hostility to the U.S. has a number of bases beyond conflicting ideologies.	Schwartz Communist China p. 1-6

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee E Introduction to Communist China (Cont.)	A. The U.S. gave military and financial support to troops fighting the Chinese Communists during the Chinese civil war, won by the Communists in late 1948. B. The U.S. Seventh Fleet helps protect the anti-Communist regime of Chiang Kai-sheck which retreated to the Island of Taiwan (Formosa) after its defeat on the mainland. C. The presence of American troops in South Vietnam, South Korea, and Japan is cited by Chinese Communist propaganda as "proof" of current American imperialism. IV. Even aside from the threat of war between East and West, China is vastly important. A. China's 735 million people make up almost a quarter of humanity. B. If Communist China is able to achieve its goal of rising from weakness and poverty to strength and plenty, the psychological effect on African, Asian, and Latin American underdeveloped areas will be profound. C. Chinese philosophy, literature and art have been notable for 4,000 years. Chinese inventions include gunpowder, paper, the compass, and printing. Communist China: CHINA'S LAND AND PEOPLE I. The U.S. and China are not the same size. Chinese territory is larger. Most of China's territory consists largely of uninhabitable mountains and deserts. A. Three out of four Chinese are thus concentrated in about 15% of the territory in the east and south, in the valleys of the Yellow and Yangtze rivers. 1. Population density: 1,000--2,000 per square mile(U.S. -- 50 per square mile) B. Agricultural land is so limited that the typical Chinese peasant family must live off one to three acres. (U.S. 200--500 acres available to the average farm family)	Schwartz Communist China p. 7-14

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V. Information Retrieval

Committee E

Introduction to Communist China (Cont.)

II. In addition to the people we call Chinese some 35 to 40 million Chinese citizens belong to non-Chinese minorities.
   A. The minorities consist of 2.4 million Manchus in Manchuria; 1.5 million Mongols in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia; more than 3.5 million Uigurs, 500,000 Kazakhs and smaller numbers of Kirzig and Tadzhik in Sinkiang; the people of Tibet; and 6.5 million Chuang and 3.3 million Yi in the areas bordering on Burma and Vietnam.
      1. Peking has accused Moscow of encouraging rebellion among the non-Chinese minorities of Sinkiang.

III. About 100 million of China's population live in cities.
   A. Shanghai, a great port and manufacturing center, is China's largest city, with more than 6 million people.
   B. Peking, with a population of 4.5 million, has been the capital of China for most of the last 700 years. (It legitimately claims to have more beauty and art within its boundaries than any other city in the world.)

IV. China has had friction with its neighbors on three of its borders.
   A. The Soviet Union
   B. Outer Mongolia
   C. India

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Communist China: THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE CIVILIZATION

I. Much in Chinese civilization was basically fixed before the birth of Christ and has survived with little change until the last two decades.

II. The ideas of Confucius (551-479 B.C.) primarily his emphasis on good manners and ethical conduct, and his theory that the nation was essentially an expanded family--became the basis of government in China.
   A. Confucius held that a ruler should deal with the mass of the people as children. This was essentially a code for absolute but benevolent dictatorship.
   B. Confucianism proved to be politically a conservative philosophy, assuming that everything important was already known.

STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee E Introduction to Communist China	C. Confucianism saw little place or need for the idea of God. III. Confucianism contained elements that made Communism congenial to the Chinese. A. The Chinese were accustomed to believe that there was only one correct doctrine, that power belonged to the learned, and that absolute obedience must be given to absolute rulers. B. Mao Tse-tung fused Marxism with such elements of Confucianism in creating a philosophy of Chinese Communism.	Schwartz Communist China p. 15-20
Does this compare with the Marxian concept of religion as the "opiate of the people"?	Communist China: A CENTURY OF CHINESE HUMILIATION I. The victory of Communism in China came after a century of Chinese humiliation by the West. II. Britain, Russia, and France battered down the walls of Chinese isolation in the mid-19th century, seeking territory and opportunities for profitable trade and investment. A. Britain won the Opium War of 1839-42 and Peking was forced to open more ports to trade. 1. China was also forced to tolerate the activities of Christian missionaries, and to accept the principle of extra-territoriality. B. The United States, a latecomer, called for an "open door" policy, demanding permission for American businessmen to trade and invest in every part of China. C. The famed middle-class reformer, Sun Yat-sen, once said that "other men are the carving knife...we are the fish and meat." D. The Chinese Communists triumphed in part in the late 1940's because they convinced many that they would be able to restore China's ancient prestige and honor. III. During the late 19th century China sought ways to rebuild the nation's strength and drive out the foreign invader. A. As early as 1861, the Chinese statesman, Fenk Kuel-fen, declared: "We have only one thing to learn from the barbarians, and that is strong ships and effective guns."	Schwartz p. 21-28

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee E Introduction to Communist China (Cont.)	IV. The revolution which overthrew the Manchu Dynasty in 1912 and proclaimed a Chinese Republic did not live up the hopes of radical reformers. A. The reformer Sun Yat-sen was President of the Chinese Republic only briefly before turning office over to Yuan Shin-kai, a former army commander. B. Yuan tried unsuccessfully to be crowned Emperor: instead, power became fragmented among provincial warlords. V. In 1919, to China's surprise, the Versailles Treaty gave Japan the former German holdings in Shangtung instead of granting to China the rights the Germans had enjoyed. A. Shocked Chinese reaction took the form of a student riot, which gave birth to the nationalistic May Fourth Movement. B. The Nationalists looked to Sun Yat-sen to bring about economic and political reforms that would restore tha national prestige of China.	
	MAO AND THE LONG MARCH I. Mao differed from most of his fellow party members in one basic respect: he believed that the Communist revolution in China should be based on the peasants rather than on the urban workers. A. "The force of the peasantry," Mao wrote, "is like that of the raging winds and driving rain. It is rapidly increasing in violence. No force can stand in its way." B. From 1927-1934, while the Communists were holed up in Kiangsi Province, they carried on a program of land distribution, occasionally combined with the murder of landlords and rural money lenders. 1. Communists frequently attacked by Kuomintang forces of Chiang Kai-shek. 2. By 1934, the pressure from Kuomintang forces became so strong that the Communists decided to migrate to the north. C. The Long March 1. About 100,000 men and women set out on the more than 4,000 mile trek now known as the Long March.	Fitzgerald The China Giant 24-6

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee E Introduction to Communist China (Cont.)	2. They traveled on foot, pursued by Kuomintang soldiers, attacked by unfriendly tribesmen and subjected to cold, hunger and disease. 3. After twelve months of incredible hardship, about 10,000 survivors managed to reach an area near the north central frontier. They settled near the town of Yenan and during the next fourteen years they worked to gain national control. 4. The Long March explains in part the Chinese Communist belief that nothing is impossible if an individual or a nation has developed the proper attitude. 5. After the Communists gained power in 1949, the Long March became the subject of innumerable plays, stories, operas, paintings, and folk songs.	

Communist China: THE COMMUNIST CONQUEST OF CHINA — Schwartz Communist China p. 29-42

I. Karl Marx and Friederich Engels, philosophic founders of modern Communism, viewed the peasant class with contempt, believing that the Communist revolution would be born among the urban proletariat.
   A. Lenin's skillful unification of the peasantry and the urban industrial workers made the victory of Communism possible in Russia.
   B. In China, Mao based his revolutionary movement entirely on the peasantry, capitalizing on their resentment of wealthy landowners and merchants.

II. China was receptive to the ideas and aid of the Soviet government.
   A. The intellectuals who founded the Chinese Communist Party in 1921, impressed by Lenin's success, were prepared to believe that China's desperate weakness could be cured by Leninist methods.
   B. Both China and the Soviet Union recognized the desirability of Chinese unity. In 1923 Stalin signed an agreement to aid Sun Yat-sen's Kuomintang (National People's Party), believing it could be used to unify China and to lay the groundwork for an eventual Communist take-over as part of the plan for world revolution.
      1. With Soviet money, Sun's young aide, Chiang Kai-shek, founded an academy to train officers for the Kuomintang army.
      2. The Russians sent Michael Borodin to serve as Sun's chief political adviser. His task was to turn the Kuomintang into an effective political machine to further the Communist cause.

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STRATEGY		CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee E Introduction to Communist China (Cont.)	III.	The Kuomintang accepted the Communists in its ranks, using their skills in propaganda and organization to achieve political and military strength. A. With help from Chinese Communists, Chiang conquered much of China from the regional warlords from 1926 to 1928. B. But then Chiang turned on the Communists, who had concentrated themselves in the cities on Stalin's advice, and was almost successful in wiping them out.	
	IV.	Mao Tse-tung gathered the remnants of the Communists, retreated to Shensi Province in northern China and began executing his plan from the new capital, Yenan, to will all of China's people to the Communist cause. A. His formula was to build compact areas of support, strong local government, and effective military organization among the peasantry. 1. In each area he established order and introduced reforms wanted by the peasants. 2. He helped convince the peasants that the Communists were sympathetic by living a simple life himself, and by instructing his men to treat them fairly. B. Mao's political acumen won him supporters, but because he had to withstand the attacks of superior Kuomintang forces for twenty-five years his organizational abilities had to be military as well as political. 1. Mao developed successful guerilla warfare techniques. 2. Recognizing the importance of propaganda to military success, he developed techniques that persuaded Kuomintang soldiers to defect to the Communist side. C. By October 1, 1948, Mao's troops had wrested most of China from Chiang's Kuomintang, and Mao proclaimed the formation of the Chinese People's Republic (Communist China).	
	V.	Besides Mao's political and military genius, three other factors helped the Communists to gain strength in China during the late 1930's and the 1940's. A. The War with Japan had further weakened China, increasing the sort of instability that favors the development of Communism. B. Soviet help after the Japanese surrender enabled the Chinese Communists to establish a stronghold in Manchuria from which they could launch their decisive attacks against Chiang.	

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval	c. The incompetence, corruption, and lack of fighting spirit among the Kuomintang made their defeat inevitable.	
Committee E.	Communist China: CHINA UNDER COMMUNIST RULE (Phase 1)	Schwartz Communist China p. 43-54
Introduction to Communist China (Cont.)	I. The Chinese Communists rid their country of all Western influence and made a great effort at "ideological remolding" (brainwashing). A. Indoctrination through small "study groups" is perhaps the most effective single technique used by the Communists. B. All media of communication are dedicated to propaganda. C. The Communist monopoly of all organized physical force assures totalitarian control.	
	II. Under Mao's program the propertied classes were eliminated. A. In the rural areas the landlords were destroyed by accusations, trial, and punishment before Land Reform Squads that moved from village to village during 1950-52. B. Businessmen and shopkeepers were at first terrorized into partnership with the government and then were forced to turn their businesses into completely government owned enterprises in exchange for dividends for five years.	
	III. Mao used the virtually limitless Chinese manpower and Soviet knowledge and materials in an attempt to achieve industrial power.	
	IV. Mao forced increased farm production in the early and middle 1950's to obtain more food and agricultural raw materials, and to provide goods that could be exported to Russia and other countries to pay for needed imports.	
	V. agriculture was collectivized in the mid-1950's to eliminate the chance of peasant resistance.	
	Communist China: CHINA UNDER COMMUNIST RULE (Phase II)	Schwartz Communist China p. 55-
	I. After the Soviet Union sent up its Sputnik and agreed to help China become a nuclear power, Mao felt confident that Communism would conquer	

00093

STRATEGY		CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee E Introduction to Communist China (Cont.)		the world and that the time had come to make its "Greap Leap Forward" into progress and prestige. A. Under the slogan "walking on two legs" the Communist Chinese attempted to industrialize in two ways: 1. Large, modern factories were constructed. 2. Small, individual enterprises were established. B. To increase agriculture production, the 550 million peasants were organized into immense people's communes, where they became, in effect, a militarized labor force sent where needed.	
	II.	The "Great Leap Forward" failed leaving agricultural and industrial production insufficient to meet the needs of a population that was increasing by 12 to 15 million people each year. A. Mao offered various reasons for the failure including natural disasters and withdrawal of Soviet technicians from the industrialization program. 1. Without his own land from which he could reap his own rewards, the peasant lost his incentive to put forth the great effort Mao demanded. 2. The backward smelters and other small scale industries made inefficient use of manpower and produced goods of low quality. B. A great famine was a feature of the economic crisis that followed.	
Is better conditions "the basic issue"?	III.	The Chinese submit to Communist rule because they accept poverty and hardship as part of their way of life and because many believe that the Communist regime has bettered their existence. A. In a land where education was once the near monopoly of a small group, more than 100 million youngsters now attend a primary or secondary school. B. There is an inexhaustible number of jobs for those with the requisite training and energy, without the discrimination against women previously typical. C. Such signs of the modern world as trucks, books, and telephones are now far more a part of the Chinese scene than before.	
Is Communist ideology similar to a religious experience?		D. Communist ideology, which pictures a better world in the future and glorifies the common man helps make current hardships bearable. E. The Communists appeal to patriotism, portraying Mao as the leader who will restore China to its ancient glory and power.	

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee E Introduction to Communist China (Cont.)	1. As an indication of its growing national strength, they point to China's self-reliance after Russian experts withdrew in 1960. 2. To unite the people against an enemy, they accuse the "imperialist" United States of having "stolen" Taiwan and of plotting with the Soviet Union to dominate the world. IV. The fact that China has produced an atomic bomb does not actually demonstrate the superiority of the Communist system. A. In an effort to provide a source of national pride the nation's best technological and scientific manpower was assigned to the job, and expense was no object. B. The feat proves that a government which has complete command over the people and the resources of a large country can concentrate those resources upon a high-priority objective--and attain it.	
	AN ASIAN'S IMPRESSION OF COMMUNIST CHINA	Ford, Tradition & Change in Four Societies 261-4
	I. The first impression is dress. A. Almost everyone--men and women of all ages--is dressed in blue trousers and a buttoned-up high collared coat like Chairman Mao's. 1. At least 95% of the people wear the blue uniform. 2. To a newcomer, men and women almost look alike for women have taken to short bobs--the twin or single pigtail is out. 3. Along with the blue uniform go soiled shoes--to shine one's shoes is bourgeoisie.	
	II. The second impression is the loudspeaker that hardly anyone can escape. A. The voice of the loudspeaker is heard in the bus, on the train, in the streetcar, in Pullman sleepers and dining cars, on street corners, in villages, towns and cities--just about everywhere. B. And what is broadcast over the loudspeakers? 1. Everything that the government approves and wants to convey to its citizens. It is the most important mass medium for the official "news" in China.	

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee E Introduction to Communist China (Cont.)	III. The third impression of the country and the people is the extraordinary cleanliness and neatness. A. Public health has a top priority. 1. There are practically no flies, no rats, no dogs, and no sparrows in China. (The sparrows were destroyed to save grain). 2. People no longer spit anywhere they like. The streets, the pavements, the curbs, and the sidewalks are all kept clean, and they stay clean, morning, noon, and evening. 3. The Young Pioneers wearing red scarves (The Communist version of the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts) stand on the pavement morning and evening and shout through cardboard megaphones, "Don't spit!"	
	IV. The fourth aspect of the Chinese nation that one cannot escape is that the whole nation is at work, hard at work, twenty-four hours around the clock. A. Three shifts in a textile mill or steel plant or a drug factory may be required for technical reasons. But, in China, people do everything on a day-night-basis.	
	V. The fifth aspect of Communist China is the new status of women. A. The Chinese woman has become the equal of man with a vengeance--legally, politically, morally. 1. She works hard and long hours like any man, and her wages are paid to her. She is no longer under the supervision of her father, husband, and son. 2. There is no job that is not open to her. Women work in steelmills, textile factories, heavy-tool plants, operage huge lathes, wield two-ton hammers, control traffic in big cities, and sometimes holds down a job far away from her husband in the interest of national production. 3. She can obtain a divorce without too much bother, and she can denounce her husband at Party meetings if she suspects him of rightist or bourgeoisie tendencies.	Ford Tradition, Etc. 261-264

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V. Information Petrieval

Committee E

Introduction to Communist China (Cont.)

4. The Chinese woman has finally come into her own. And this is all very good. But, on the other hand, she has ceased to be feminine. She uses no cosmetics, and not the least bit of jewelry. She is disciplined, regimented, and made to work for the glorification of the state.

VI. The last aspect of Communist Chinese is their honesty in internal affairs.
A. People have become absolutely honest, though I am afraid this honesty is more the product of fear of the regime's severe punishment than a change in personal ethics.
1. In the stores, giving the proper change has become a matter of national honor.
2. There is no tipping anywhere. Tipping a comrade worker for doing his duty is not only bourgeoisie but a positive insult. If one inadvertently leaves a tip--it is returned.
3. The beggars and bandits, thieves and thugs, prostitutes and pickpockets have disappeared. The bandits vanished when they realized that the Communists meant business. Removing the beggars, once so prominent in China, seems like a major national accomplishment for an underdeveloped Asian country.

Compare this report with Mark Gayn's article in Communist China (Harvard Social Studies Project) p. 54-56

Ford, Tradition, and Change in Four Societies 261-264

Communist China: THE SOVIET-CHINESE SPLIT

Schwartz Communist China 69-76

I. Even though both claim allegiance to Marxism-Leninism, there has long been conflict and resentment between China and the Soviet Union.
A. History reveals that for centuries the Russians have been taking over land the Chinese are still trying to recover.
B. There is lingering resentment toward Stalin. In the 1920's he advised the Communists to concentrate in cities, where they later made an easy target for Chiang. After World War II he wanted to use Chiang rather than Mao to achieve Chinese unification.
C. In the 1950's Stalin lent money to China, students were sent to the Soviet Union for schooling, Soviet technicians helped develop Chinese industries, and trade between the two countries was increased. These factors tended to obscure developing tensions.

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V. Information Retrieval

Committee E

Introduction to Communist China (Cont.)

1. The Soviet Union asked payment for military supplies the Chinese had believed to be given as gifts.
2. When Khrushchev visited Peking in 1954, Mao apparently demanded that the Russians return Outer Mongolia to China.
3. The Chinese eased the Russians out of their special position in Manchuria.
4. The Soviets made it clear that they opposed the Chinese communes.
5. The Soviets renounced their pledge to help the Chinese make an atomic bomb after giving aid for less than two years.

II. The Soviet Union and Communist China differ in their views concerning ways in which Communist domination of the world be achieved.
   A. The Soviet Union currently seems to believe that Communist domination of the world can best be achieved through peaceful coexistence and competition: that Communism will inevitably "bury" capitalism: and that nuclear war must be avoided or it will result in destruction of the world's population.
   B. China with its immense population, is willing to risk nuclear war to gain its objective. China believes enough of its 735 million people would survive to make the risk worthwhile. China claims that the Soviet Union has abandoned the true world Communist movement and has aligned itself with the U.S. to achieve world domination.
   C. Each side accuses the other of using racism as an issue to gain the allegiance of non-white peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

III. The world Communist movement has been split among pro-Chinese, pro-Soviet, and neutral factions, with Albania, North Korea, and North Vietnam now supporting the Chinese view.

Communist China: TAIWAN: A SECOND CHINA

I. The Chinese Communists resent the fact that a separate Nationalist Chinese government was set up on the island of Taiwan, and still exists there.

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee E Introduction to Communist China (Cont.)	A. This "Second China" which holds UN membership, offers the mainland people an alternative government, an alternative economic system, and an alternative way of life. B. Communist China is afraid that Taiwan will serve as a base from which the U.S. and Chiang Kai-shek will someday launch an attack on the mainland. C. The fact that Taiwan is protected by the U.S. Seventh Fleet is a reminder of U.S. power.	Schwartz Communist China 77-80
Should Communist China be admitted to the UN?	II. Because the Communist Chinese may soon have nuclear power sufficient to destroy the Seventh Fleet and Taiwan, some observers feel that the Nationalist government should now settle its differences with the Communists. A. The "Two Chinas" plan, under which both governments would be recognized and seated in the United Nations, has been rejected by both Chinas because each insists that its government is the only legitimate one for all China, and because both want Taiwan and the mainland to be under one government. B. In effect, the role of the United States has been to keep the two sides from attacking each other: the Seventh Fleet deters aggression by the Communists, and the fact that Chiang's armies depend on the U.S. for financial support obliges him to follow U.S. policies, although he has avowed his intention of reconquering the mainland.	
	III. Even though Chiang has, with American aid, built a prosperous nation (with one of the highest standards of living in all Asia), a Communist take-over of Taiwan is not impossible. A. Communist military strength may soon be such that Taiwan may not be able to resist it--even with the help of the United States. B. The Taiwanese are not entirely content with Chiang's one-party dictatorship, which reserves key positions for those who came from the mainland with him.	Schwartz Communist China 81-89

Communist China: THE FUTURE OF COMMUNIST CHINA

1. It is still too early to tell whether Communist China will learn to cooperate with other nations, or whether Communist China will continue to be dominated

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STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee E Introduction to Communist China (Cont.)	by national pride and arrogance, fused with the crusading zeal of Communism. A. China offers itself in Asia, Africa, and Latin America as the would-be leader of the "have-not" nations against the "haves". 1. China has won Albania, North Vietnam, and North Korea as allies. There are politicians in Burma, Thailand, and the Phillippines ready to jump aboard Peking's bandwagon. 2. The influence of Chinese-trained Africans has already appeared in Tanzania and the Congo, and in Latin America there is a suspected tie between the Chinese and the extreme radicals who hope to overthrow governments in power. B. Perhaps the most alarming element in China's current strategy is the deliberate use of racism as a major political weapon.	
00100		
	II. The debate on U.S. China policy is between those who believe that Communist China will become a responsible and constructive member of the world community only if past injuries to China are rectified, and those who believe that Communist China will demand a major redistribution of the world's resources once it has sufficient power. A. The extreme viewpoint on one side suggests giving Taiwan to Communist China; at the opposite extreme is the suggestion that the United States--with or without the Soviet Union--should act to destroy all Chinese nuclear weapons factories. B. For the Chinese, the hydrogen bomb poses the same problem as for all of us--coexistence or coextinction. C. U.S. China policy is currently undergoing major changes under the Nixon administration.	
For an insight into a nuclear attack--have the class read Hersey's Hiroshima.		
	Nationalism: COMMUNISM'S BIGGEST CHALLENGE I. Nationalism A. Underlying most issues in national and international relations is the problem of power. B. Power	

STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee E Introduction to Communist China (Cont.)	1. Power in the simplest sense is the ability of men to make other people do what they want. 2. In the modern world, this final power is exercised by the state: under a despotic government largely by force; but in the last analysis any kind of government rests on its ability to impose its policies and to achieve its will. 3. The state is thus the focal point of all our modern problems. C. If we are concerned with world affairs, the aspect of the state which we must study is largely its relations with other states. 1. Here lie the tensions, the possibilities, the whole vista of international politics. D. The terms "state" and "nation" seem interchangeable, but nation is a relatively new concept. 1. In the sixteenth century, the power of the state might refer to the power exercised by a dynasty, or by a conqueror, or a free city, or the Pope himself. 2. The link between nationalism and the state has come into being only in the last three hundred years. E. Elements of Nationalism 1. Sense of historical continuity 2. Sense of destiny shared by others 3. Memories reaching back into a common past 4. A common culture 5. A common heritage 6. A common language F. Eventually nationalism became united with the modern political and economic revolutions of the West. 1. The political drive for democracy 2. The economic revolution of science and industry G. Exaggerated Nationalism 1. In addition to democracy, nationalism also led to a tremendous and terrifying enhancement of hostility. a. No sooner was some interest of the group thought to be threatened from outside when the whole life of the community was felt to be at stake.	Ward--Five Ideas That Change the World 13-44

00101

STRATEGY	CONTENT	MATERIAL
V. Information Retrieval Committee E Introduction to Communist China (Cont.) Is Russian versus Chinese nationalism the real cause of the Soviet-Chinese split?	b. On these fears could be built so terrifying a battery of hatred, such a demonology of distrust and enmity that the nationalism of the nineteenth century led on to the total irrationality of National Socialism in Germany. H. The Russian Revolution and Nationalism 1. The Communist Revolution attempted to establish a state on ideological foundations alone. a. The new society was not Russian. It was the vanguard of embattled proletarians of the world. (According to Marx the proletariat had no country). b. In the early days, neither Lenin nor Trotsky believed that the revolution could succeed in Russia unless it spread simultaneously all through Europe, and probably around the world. c. Under Stalin, Russia became a nationalistic Communist country. (1) Russian nationalism was stimulated by the people's heroic defense of their homeland in World War II. (2) The sense of Russian interests, of Russian power and pride, is fully as strong now as any surviving revolutionary principle. (3) Communism has become an instrument of Russian nationalism.	

00102

STRATEGY	SUGGESTED REPORTING ACTIVITIES
VI. Suggested Reporting Activities	1. Have the students prepare a slide-tape presentation on Russia or China contrasting the political and economic theories with the realities.
	2. Students may prepare annotated bibliographies on their committee topics.
	3. Students may prepare a vertical file on communism in Russia and China for permanent reference in the school library.
	4. Students might prepare a collage using themes such as: Freedom and Control; Communism and Democracy; Youth and Revolution.
	5. Students can prepare visuals illustrating the organization of the Russian and Chinese governments, the relationships between the governments and their Communist Parties, the dialectic, Marxist view of history, etc.
	6. Stage a debate for a school assembly on the topic "Does Russian Communism have a Future".
	7. Students may give oral committee reports or written reports that are distributed to all students.
	8. Students can compare their "man on the street" interviews, student quizzes, and parent's opinions with the facts. Portions of the tapes can be utilized in making this presentation.

00103

STRATEGY	LEARNING ACTIVITY
VII. Overview	
A. To review the questions posed earlier by the class and compare the answers reported by the committees.	The purpose of the overview is to integrate the findings of the student reporting activities to note trends, likenesses, and differences when compared with other examples known by the students. This should be a joint student-teacher effort with the teacher offering guidance where necessary. Initially, the class should determine if the committees have answered the questions generated by the class at the beginning of the unit. (Strategy II)
B. To gain a perspective concerning the parts of the unit as well as the broader aspects of it.	Then the teacher can pose some of the larger questions such as: 1. Are the economic realities of Communism in concert with the economic theories? At what points do they differ? Why? 2. Are the political realities "... ... ...?" 3. Are the economic theories of capitalism in concert with the economic realities? At what points do they differ? Why? 4. Are the political realities "... ... ...?" 5. Is life in the U.S.S.R. and for China better off with Communism than they would have been under capitalism? 6. Must capitalism seek to destroy Communist economies? 7. Etc.

00104

VIII. Generalizations

1. Although the official documents of nations provide direction and the spirit of the political and social dream, there will always be a discrepancy between that dream and reality due to the imperfections in the nature of man.

2. The concentration of wealth in the hands of a few leads to the control of power by the few and works to the detriment of the masses.

3. The greater the discrepancy in political and economic power, the greater is the possibility of a reaction designed to correct the discrepancies. This may be either violent or non-violent means, as necessary.

4. Individual effort to achieve is enhanced by reasons of altruism, personal and/or professional pride, national patriotism, or personal gain. The latter is believed to be the strongest force.

5. People who have a low standard of living and a high belief that the government is not interested in their welfare, have little to lose in the shifting of their government to Communism and are thus unwilling to fight to stave it off.

00105

STRATEGY	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
IX. Suggested Culminating Activities	1. Have the class prepare a program for presentation to the whole school on Human Right's Day.
	2. Students may write letters or send petitions to Soviet officials concerning conditions in Russia with reference to topics such as lack of dissent, persecution, anti-semitism, etc.
	3. Have the students develop a "Joke-a-thon" in which they show some of the discrepancies between the political and economic theories and realities.
	4. Present the class findings through a series of cartoons. The class may make a booklet for distribution or sale.
	5. The cartoons can be put on transparencies and used as the basis for a narrated audio-visual class production.

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Oliver, Donald. Communist China. American Education Publications: Middletown, Connecticut, 1968
Another outstanding product of the Harvard Social Studies Project. Case studies enable the student to become personally involved in the historical and social evolution of Communist China.

Oliver, Donald. 20th Century Russia. American Education Publications: Middletown, Connecticut, 1968
More from the Harvard Social Studies Project. Asks many thought-provoking questions. Excellent source of inquiry teaching. Sees Russia through Ivan's eyes.

Rieber, Alfred. A Study of the USSR and Communism. Scott, Foresman, and Company: Chicago, 1966
Basically an historical presentation of Russia and the Soviet Union.

Salisbury, Harrison. The Soviet Union. Encyclopedia Britannica Press: New York, 1965
Superlative presentation. Scholarly. Salisbury knows the Soviet Union. A must for any study of Soviet Communism. Interpretative history rarely found in high school materials. A college course in ninety pages.

Schapiro, Leonard. The Government and Politics of the Soviet Union. Vintage: New York, 1967
A heavy political reader with an historical bent. Dry but informative.

Schwartz, Harry. Communist China. Encyclopedia Britannica Press: New York, 1965
A launching pad for the study of China. Good history that reads well and raises questions for further study. An exceptional source for creating mini-experts on Communist China.

Schwartz, Harry. The Soviet Union. Scott, Foresman and Company: Chicago, 1963
Clear presentation of economic concepts. Outstanding charts and graphs. While some of the factual material is outdated, the concepts are timely.

Soule, George. Ideas of the Great Economists. Mentor: New York, 1952
Contains the thinking of most of the great economic writers including Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Karl Marx, Robert Owen, Henry George, John Stuart Mill, John Maynard Keynes and others.

Sulzberger, C. L. Unfinished Revolution. Atheneum: New York, 1965
A scholarly presentation of the relationship between have and have-not nations. Deals with the revolution of self-determination, the revolution of Communism and the revolution of technology. Concentrates on the "third world".

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BOOKS (continued)

Swearingen, Rodger. The World of Communism. Houghton Mifflin Company: Boston, 1966
An historical analysis of Russian and Soviet history from an American frame of reference.

Tucker, Robert. The Marxian Revolutionary Idea. W. W. Norton & Company: New York, 1969
A scholarly work that deals with Marxism in two fundamental aspects: first, as a theory--as a body of theory about man, history, society, and politics. Secondly, ideology--as a radical social philosophy offering a vision of the good society and directions for its attainment.

Wallace, Robert. Rise of Russia. Time Incorporated: New York, 1967
A human history crammed with beautiful color pictures. Excellent sections on Russian architecture.

Ward, Barbara. Five Ideas that Change the World. W. W. Norton & Company: New York, 1959
Stresses the impact of nationalism, industrialism, colonialism, Communism and internationalism on the history of the world. Sees Communist revolutions as a tactical exploiter of two major causes of revolutionary ferment--war-weariness and the peasant's longing for land.

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PERIODICALS

Armstrong, R. "Military-Industrial Complex: Russian Style". Fortune. August 1, 1969, p. 84-87

Berkhin, Illya. "Postwar Decade". Soviet Life. September, 1967, p. 25-29

Chamberlain, John. "Marx and the Intellectuals". Freeman. Vol. 20. No. 7, July, 1970, p. 445-448

Critchlou, J. "Ins and Outs of De Stalinazation". Commonwealth. May 2, 1969, p. 191-192

Fischer, L. "Russia's Road from Peace to War". Saturday Review. July 19, 1969, p. 31-32

Gromyko, A. "Soviet Foreign Policy". Vital Speeches. August 1, 1969, p. 618-628

Jefferies, J. "Dear Stalin, Dear Brezhnev, Dear..." "Two Letters: 1938-1968". National Review. June 17, 1969, p. 590

Karlinsky, S. "Hosting Russian Poetry". Nation. July 7, 1969, p. 28-30

Miller, Arthur. "In Russia". Harper's. September, 1969, p. 37-78

Nutter, G. W. "Strange World of Ivan Ivanov". National Review. April 22, 1969, p. 394-95

Pearson, D. "Kennedy, Khruschev and Cuba". Saturday Review. March 29, 1969, p. 12-15

Salisbury, H. E. "Urgent Question that Dominates the Asian Heartland Today Is: Will There be War Between Russia and China?" New York Times Magazine. July 27, 1969, p. 10-14

Sorensen, Theodore. "Report From Moscow". Holiday. August, 1969, p. 12-13

Sutton, A.C. "Are We In A Pavlovian Box?". National Review. July 15, 1969, p. 692-94

"Close Ranks, The Chinese Are Coming!". New Republic. September 20, 1969, p. 18-19

"East-West Relations". New Republic. January 3, 1970, p. 17-18

"Good Life". U.S. News. November 24, 1969, p. 51

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PERIODICALS (continued)

"Moscow Report: The More It Remains the Same". New York Times Magazine. May 18, 1969, p. 28-29

"Power Was Lying in the Street, We Picked It Up". New York Times Magazine. September 28, 1969, p. 30-31

"Russian-made Aircraft". Nation. March 24, 1969, p. 357

"Russia's Fast Growth Eases Off". Business Week. February 8, 1969, p. 12-15

"Shifting Great Power Politics: The End of U.S. Soviet Hegemony". Current History. June, 1969, p. 61-64

"Soviet Defenses". Time. May 4, 1970, p. 35-40

"Soviet Economy in the 1970's". Current History. October, 1969, p. 214-219

"Stalin's Successor". Foreign Affairs. April, 1970, p. 509-524

"Soviet Union: Leadership at the Crossroads". Time. May 4, 1970, p. 33-47

"U.S. and Russia: Dawn of a New Era". U.S. News. January 5, 1970, p. 34

"Union of Soviet Socialist Republics". National Geographic. December, 1970

00112

FILMS

"Ivan Ivanovich" 29 minutes/color/$16 rental, $360 purchase/ McGraw Hill
A film that shows how a typical family in Russia lives today.

"Meet Comrade Student" 54 minutes/b & w/$25 rental, $250 purchase/McGraw Hill
An examination of the Soviet primary, secondary and trade school educational systems.

"Khrushchev and Berlin" 54 minutes/ b & w/ $25 rental, $250 purchase/McGraw Hill
This film probes the reasons for Khrushchevs' building the wall that now encircles West Berlin and isolates it inside East Germany.

"The Soviet Woman" 17 minutes/b & w/$100 purchase/McGraw Hill
From Madame Khrushchev to a construction worker, from the woman in charge of Soviet satellite tracking stations to a mother heroine with eleven off springs, from students to fashion models--the film creates a look at the life of the Soviet woman.

"The Death of Stalin". 54 minutes/b & w/$25 rental, $275 purchase/McGraw Hill
This film sheds light on the era of Stalinist tyranny and details the events leading up to the dreaded dictator's death. It is documented with first hand reports.

"Russia: Czar to Lenin" 30 minutes/b & w/ $11 rental, $190 purchase/McGraw Hill
Centers on the events during the years 1914-1920 when the Bolsheviks seized control of the Russian government.

"The Kremlin" 54 minutes/color/$35 rental, $490 purchase/McGraw Hill
In magnificent color, this highly praised film re-creates events that took place in the Kremlin, the seat of Russian authority, during five centuries--from early Moscow princes to Czar Peter the Great.

"Revolt in Hungary" 27 minutes/b & w/$11 rental, $135 purchase/McGraw Hill
Made from footage taken by a member of the Hungarian underground. The film documents the events leading up to the rebellion and reveals the savageness of the Russian army in crushing the revolt.

"Who Goes There--A Primper on Communism" 54 minutes/b & w/$25 rental, $300 purchase/McGraw Hill
The film traces the evolution of Communist thought--Marx, his ideology, Lenin, with his revolution; Stalin with his totalitarianism; Khrushchev with his imperialism. Includes a history of Russia from the days of Genghis Khan to the present. An NBC News Production.

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FILMS (continued)

"The Soviet Challenge" 26 minutes/color/$167.50 purchase/Encyclopedia Britannica Educational Corporation
A documentary of the industrial revolution in Russia.

"MacBeth: The Politics of Power" 28 minutes/color/$390 purchase/Encyclopedia Britannica Educational Corporation
How is it possible to portray MacBeth as a brutal murderer who remains a tragic hero through the play?

"MacBeth: The Secretest Man" 33 minutes/color/$390 purchase/Encyclopedia Britannica Educational Corporation
"Everyman", in MacBeth's words, "is the secret'st man of blood," thus we cannot hate MacBeth, nor can we believe that his life signified nothing, for there remains this capacity for good and evil within the same human heart sums up Shakespeare's message.

"China's Villages in Change" 20 minutes/color/$265 purchase/ Encyclopedia Britannica Films
Shows the Communists' attempt to change centuries--old tradition with the introduction of modern improvements.

"China's Industrial Revolution" 15 minutes/color/$200 purchase/Encyclopedia Britannica Films
Shows how the Communists are trying to change a land of artisans and peasants into a modern industrial nation with world power.

"China Under Communism" 22 minutes/color/$265 purchase/Encyclopedia Britannica Films
An uncensored, eye-witness report by Hohn Strohm; the first U.S. newsman permitted to travel in Red China to photograph Communist methods of forcing radical and sweeping changes in traditional patterns of living.

"People of Western China" 11 minutes/b & w/$70 purchase/Encyclopedia Britannica Films
Pictures the traditional way of life in a valley of western China in the days before the Communist Regime.

"Major Religions of the World" Development and Rituals 20 minutes/color/$265 purchase/Encyclopedia Britannica Films. Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

"China: A Portrait of the Land" 18 minutes/color/$232.50 purchase/Encyclopedia Britannica Films
The film points particularly to Manchuria as a key to the nation's agricultural and industrial progress.

"China: The Social Revolution" 17 minutes/color/$210 purchase/$12.50 rental/McGraw Hill
Describes in detail the take over of the Communist Party and the men who were involved--Mao Tse Tung, Chiang Kai-shek, as well as the social effects this type of government has had on the people of China.

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FILMS (continued)

"Red China" 54 minutes/b & w/$300 purchase/$25 rental/McGraw Hill
The rise of Mao Tse Tung--the savage civil war--the "great leap forward".

"The Cherry Orchard" Part I 21 minutes/color/$265 purchase/Encyclopedia Britannica Films
Chekhov: Innovation of modern drama--internal actions often produce the sharp edge of truth.

"The Cherry Orchard" Part II 22 minutes/color/$265 purchase/Encyclopedia Britannica Films

"Chinese Painting: Its Tradition and Techniques" 15 minutes/color/$165 purchase/Bailey Film Association
Hong Kong artist demonstrates the principles and techniques that underlie this ancient tradition and explain the symbolism that motivates the expression. Appreciation and enjoyment of Chinese painting.
11559 Santa Monica Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90025

SLIDES

"Russian Art" 18 color slides--$22--American Library Color Slides Company, Inc.
305 E. 45th Street
New York, New York 10017

FILMSTRIPS AND SOUNDSTRIPS

"The Soviet Union Today: Its People and Their Way of Life"--Guidance Associates (Soundstrip)/$35.00
Part I: 113 frames/15 minutes/color/records/scripts
Part II: 125 frames/20 minutes/color/records/scripts
Part I-- Your classes meet Russians, Tartars, workers, artists, children, party members as they explore the Soviet Union's vast geography and cultural diversity.
Part II--Begins with a colorful look into Russia's past from legendary times to the Soviet Regime.

"The Rise of Communism"--Guidance Associates (Soundstrip)$35.00
color/records/script
Part I: 105 frames/21-1/2 minutes--Defines Communism historically through the theories of Karl Marx, the methods of Lenin, and the twenty-eight year regime of Josef Stalin.
Part II: 118 frames/16 minutes--Helps students identify key economic, social, ideological, personal, military, geographic, reasons for Communist revolution.

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"Communism: Challenge to Freedom"--Society for Visual Education/4 filmstrips/2 records/$33.00/Soundstrip
Group I --What is Communism, Communism and Economics, Communism and Human Rights.
Group II--The Years of Struggle, the Cold War, the Communist Party.

"Living in China Today"--Society for Visual Education/color/4 filmstrips/2 records/$31.00
Agriculture and rural life, cities and city life, resources, industries, transportation and communications.

"China In Crisis: Confrontation or Coexistence"
Featuring exclusive comment and analysis by Ambassador Marshall Green, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian-Pacific Affairs, and Professor John K. Fairbank, Director, Harvard Center for East Asian Studies. Part I reviews conditions preceding Communist rule, examines far-reaching agrarian reform instituted after Communist takeover, probes the "Hundred Flowers" experiment with dissent; failure of the Great Leap Forward; analyzes causes and effects of the Cultural Revolution; reviews Chairman Mao Tse-tung's career and achievements in helping China control hunger, disease, illiteracy, civil war; considers the future of China's revolutionary leadership and purpose. Part II examines the Sino-American relations in light of the "Two Chinas" problem and continuing consequences of the Korean War. Program considers China's Tibetan and Indian campaigns, acquisition of nuclear arms, isolationism and desire for super-power status. Program features rare and exclusive photos. Produced in cooperation with The Associated Press.
Part I: 123 frames/18 minutes Part II: 95 frames/16 minutes
2 filmstrips; 2 12" LPs/$35.00/C-403 475
2 filmstrips; 2 cassettes/$39.00/C-403 483

"China In Perspective: Roots of Civilization
Featuring exclusive comment and analysis by author Pearl Buck and Professor John K. Fairbank, Director, Harvard Center of East Asian Studies. Part I first offers a clear geo-demographic portrait of China. Program then emphasizes the key role of the peasant throughout Chinese history, explains the impact of Confucianism and Buddhism, traces formation of the Chinese Empire in 221 B.C., describes basic patterns of dynastic rise and fall, explores characteristics and achievements of the important Han, T'ang, Sung, Mongol and Ming dynasties. Part II begins with arrival of the 17th century European traders, opium trade and Manchu opium wars, describes resulting European "spheres of influence," the Taiping and Boxer Rebellions, Sun Yat-sen's "revolution," post World War I allied betrayal of China, decades of civil war, the Japanese invasion, leadership of Mao Tse-tung and Chiang K'ai-shek, establishment of the People's Republic of China. Program features rare and exclusive photos. Produced in cooperation with The Associated Press.
Part I: 104 frames/16 minutes Part II: 128 frames/17 minutes
2 filmstrips; 2 12" LPs/$35.00/C-403 491 2 filmstrips; 2 cassettes/$39.00/C-403 509

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